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The life of Charles Dickens ...

John Forster

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VOL. I.

TAUCHNITZ EDITION.

By the same Author,

THE LIFE OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH . . . 2 vols.

THE LIFE

OF

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THE LIFE
OF
CHARLES DICKENS.

BY
JOHN FORSTER.
lll

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VOL. I.

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BERNHARD TAUCHNITZ
1872.

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TO THE DAUGHTERS OF CHARLES DICKENS,

MY GODDAUGHTER MARY

AND

HER SISTER KATE,

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED BY THEIR FRIEND,

AND THEIR FATHER'S FRIEND AND EXECUTOR,

JOHN FORSTER.

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vol. 1-2

FORSTER

THE LIFE OF CHARLES DICKENS

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THE
LIFE OF CHARLES DICKENS.

CHAPTER I.

CHILDHOOD.

1812—1822.

CHARLES DICKENS, the most popular novelist PORTSEA:
1812. of the century and one of the greatest humourists that England has produced, was born at Landport in Portsea on Friday the seventh of February, 1812.

His father, John Dickens, a clerk in the Navy-pay office, was at this time stationed in the Portsmouth dockyard. He had made acquaintance with the lady, Elizabeth Barrow, who became afterwards his wife, through her elder brother, Thomas Barrow, also engaged on the establishment at Somerset-house; and she bore him in all a family of eight children, of whom two died in infancy. The eldest, Fanny (born 1810), was followed by Charles (entered in the baptismal re-

Family of
John
Dickens,

PORTSEA:
1812-14. gister of Portsea as Charles John Huffham, though on the very rare occasions when he subscribed that name he wrote Huffam); by another son, named Alfred, who died in childhood: by Letitia (born 1816); by another daughter, Harriet, who died also in childhood; by Frederick (born 1820); by Alfred Lamert (born 1822); and by Augustus (born 1827); of all of whom only the second daughter now survives.

Walter Scott tells us, in his fragment of autobiography, speaking of the strange remedies applied to his lameness, that he remembered lying on the floor in the parlour of his grandfather's farm-house, swathed up in a sheepskin warm from the body of the sheep, being then not three years old. David Copperfield's memory goes beyond this. He represents himself seeing so far back into the blank of his infancy, as to discern therein his mother and her servant, dwarfed to his sight by stooping down or kneeling on the floor, and himself going unsteadily from the one to the other. He admits this may be fancy, though he believes the power of observation in numbers of very young children to be quite wonderful for its closeness and accuracy, and thinks that the recollection of most of us can go farther back into such times than many of us suppose. But what he adds is

certainly not fancy. "If it should appear from "anything I may set down in this narrative that I
"was a child of close observation, or that as a
"man I have a strong memory of my childhood,
"I undoubtedly lay claim to both of these charac-
"teristics." Applicable as it might be to David
Copperfield, this was simply and unaffectedly true
of Charles Dickens.

PORTSEA:
1812-14.
David Cop-
perfield log.

He has often told me that he remembered the small front garden to the house at Portsea, from which he was taken away when he was two years ~~at~~ ^{Etat. 2.} old, and where, watched by a nurse through a low kitchen-window almost level with the gravel-walk, he trotted about with something to eat, and his little elder sister with him. He was carried from the garden one day to see the soldiers exercise; and I perfectly recollect, that, on our being at Portsmouth together while he was writing *Nickleby*, he recognized the exact shape of the military parade seen by him as a very infant, on the same spot, a quarter of a century before.

When his father was again brought up by his duties to London from Portsmouth, they went into lodgings in Norfolk-street, Middlesex-hospital; and it lived also in the child's memory that they had come away from Portsea in the snow. Their home, shortly after, was again changed, on the

LONDON:
1814-16.
Norfolk-
street,
Middlesex-
hospital.

CHATHAM: elder Dickens being placed upon duty in Chatham dockyard; and the house where he lived in Chatham, which had a plain-looking whitewashed plaster-front and a small garden before and behind, was in St. Mary's-place, otherwise called the Brook, and next door to a Baptist meeting-house called Providence-chapel, of which a Mr. Giles to be presently mentioned was minister. Charles at this time was between four and five years old;* and here he stayed till he was nine. Here the most durable of his early impressions were received; and the associations that were around him when he died, were those which at the outset of his life had affected him most strongly.

The house called Gadshill-place stands on the strip of highest ground in the main road between Rochester and Gravesend. Often had we travelled past it together, years and years before

C. D.
to
J. F.

* "I shall cut this letter short, for they are playing Massaniello in the drawing-room, and I feel much as I used to do when I was a small child a few miles off, and Somebody (who I wonder, and which way did *She* go, when she died) hummed the evening hymn to me, and I cried on the pillow—either with the remorseful consciousness of having kicked Somebody else, or because still Somebody else had hurt my feelings in the course of the day." From Gads Hill, 24 Sep. 1857. "Being here again, or as much here as anywhere in particular."

it became his home; and never without some allusion to what he told me when first I saw it in his company, that amid the recollections connected with his childhood it held always a prominent place, for, upon first seeing it as he came from Chatham with his father, and looking up at it with much admiration, he had been promised that he might himself live in it, or in some such house, when he came to be a man, if he would only work hard enough. Which for a long time was his ambition. The story is a pleasant one, and receives authentic confirmation at the opening of one of his essays on travelling abroad, when as he passes along the road to Canterbury there crosses it a vision of his former self.

“So smooth was the old high road, and so ^{A vision of boyhood at} fresh were the horses, and so fast went I, that Gadshill.
“it was midway between Gravesend and Rochester,
“and the widening river was bearing the ships,
“white sailed or black-smoked, out to sea, when
“I noticed by the wayside a very queer small
“boy.

“‘Holloa!’ said I, to the very queer small boy,
“‘where do you live?’

“‘At Chatham,’ says he.

“‘What do you do there?’ says I.

“‘I go to school,’ says he.

CHATHAM:
1816-21.

CHATHAM:
1816-21.
C. D. log.

"I took him up in a moment, and we went
"on. Presently, the very queer small boy says,
"'This is Gads-hill we are coming to, where
"Falstaff went out to rob those travellers, and
"'ran away.'

"'You know something about Falstaff, eh?'

"said I.

"'All about him,' said the very queer small
"boy. 'I am old (I am nine), and I read all sorts
"of books. But *do* let us stop at the top of the
"hill, and look at the house there, if you
"'please!'

"'You admire that house?' said I.

"'Bless you, sir,' said the very queer small
"boy, 'when I was not more than half as old as
"'nine, it used to be a treat for me to be brought
"to look at it. And now I am nine, I come by
"'myself to look at it. And ever since I can re-
"'collect, my father, seeing me so fond of it, has
"'often said to me, *If you were to be very per-*
"'*severing and were to work hard, you might some*
"'*day come to live in it.* Though that's impos-
"'sible!' said the very queer small boy, drawing
"a low breath, and now staring at the house out
"of window with all his might.

"I was rather amazed to be told this by the
"very queer small boy; for that house happens

"to be *my* house, and I have reason to believe CHATHAM:
"that what he said was true." 1816-21.

The queer small boy was indeed his very self. The queer
small boy. He was a very little and a very sickly boy. He was subject to attacks of violent spasm which disabled him for any active exertion. He was never a good little cricket-player. He was never a first-rate hand at marbles, or peg-top, or prisoner's base. But he had great pleasure in watching the other boys, officers' sons for the most part, at these games, reading while they played; and he had always the belief that this early sickness had brought to himself one inestimable advantage, in the circumstance of his weak health having strongly inclined him to reading. It will not appear, as my narrative moves on, that he owed much to his parents, or was other than in his first letter to Washington Irving he described himself to have been, a "very small "and not-over-particularly-taken-care-of boy;" but he has frequently been heard to say that his first desire for knowledge, and his earliest passion for reading, were awakened by his mother, who taught him the first rudiments not only of English, but also, a little later, of Latin. She taught him regularly every day for a long time, and taught him, he was convinced, thoroughly well. I once

CHATHAM: put to him a question in connection with this to
1816-21.

C. D.
to
J. F.

which he replied in almost exactly the words he placed five years later in the mouth of David Copperfield. "I faintly remember her teaching "me the alphabet; and when I look upon the fat "black letters in the primer, the puzzling novelty "of their shapes, and the easy good nature of O "and S, always seem to present themselves before "me as they used to do."

Prepara-
tory day-
school.

Then followed the preparatory day-school, a school for girls and boys to which he went with his sister Fanny, and which was in a place called Rome (pronounced Room) lane. Revisiting Chatham in his manhood, and looking for the place, he found it had been pulled down to make a new street, "ages" before: but, out of the distance of the ages, arose nevertheless a not dim impression, that it had been over a dyer's shop; that he went up steps to it; that he had frequently grazed his knees in doing so; and that in trying to scrape the mud off a very unsteady little shoe, he generally got his leg over the scraper.* Other similar memories of childhood

School in
Rome-lane.

* "The mistress of the establishment holds no place in "our memory; but, rampant on one eternal door-mat, in an "eternal entry long and narrow, is a puffy pug-dog, with a

have dropped from him occasionally in his lesser writings; whose readers may remember how vividly portions of his boyhood are reproduced in his fancy of the Christmas-tree, and will hardly have forgotten what he says, in his thoughtful little paper on Nurse's-stories, of the doubtful places and people to which children may be introduced before they are six years old, and forced, night after night, to go back to against their wills, by servants to whom they are entrusted. That childhood exaggerates what it sees, too, has he not tenderly told? How he thought the Rochester High-street must be at least as wide as Regent-street, which he afterwards discovered to be little better than a lane; how the public clock in it, supposed to be the finest clock in the world,

CHATHAM:
1816-21.

Rochester
revisited.

"personal animosity towards us, who triumphs over Time.
"The bark of that baleful Pug, a certain radiating way he
"had of snapping at our undefended legs, the ghastly grin-
"ning of his moist black muzzle and white teeth, and the in-
"solence of his crisp tail curled like a pastoral crook, all live
"and flourish. From an otherwise unaccountable association
"of him with a fiddle, we conclude that he was of French
"extraction, and his name *Fiaule*. He belonged to some
"female, chiefly inhabiting a back parlour, whose life appears
"to us to have been consumed in sniffing, and in wearing a
"brown beaver bonnet."

CHATHAM:
1816-21.

turned out to be as moonfaced and weak a clock as a man's eyes ever saw; and how, in its town-hall, which had appeared to him once so glorious a structure that he had set it up in his mind as the model on which the genie of the lamp built the palace for Aladdin, he had painfully to recognize a mere mean little heap of bricks, like a chapel gone demented. Yet not so painfully, either, when second thoughts wisely came. "Ah! "who was I that I should quarrel with the town "for being changed to me, when I myself had "come back, so changed, to it? All my early "readings and early imaginations dated from this "place, and I took them away so full of innocent "construction and guileless belief, and I brought "them back so worn and torn, so much the wiser "and so much the worse!"

And here I may at once expressly mention, what already has been hinted, that even as Fielding described himself and his belongings in Captain Booth and Amelia, and protested always that he had writ in his books nothing more than he had seen in life, so it may be said of Dickens in more especial relation to David Copperfield. Many guesses have been made since his death, connecting David's autobiography with his own; accounting, by means of such actual experiences,

Relation of
David Cop-
perfield to
Charles
Dickens.

CHATHAM:
1816-21.

for the so frequent recurrence in his writings of the prison-life, its humour and pathos, described in them with such wonderful reality; and discovering, in what David tells Steerforth at school of the stories he had read in his childhood, what it was that had given the bent to his own genius. There is not only truth in all this, but it will very shortly be seen that the identity went deeper than any had supposed, and covered experiences not less startling in the reality than they appear to be in the fiction.

Of the “readings” and “imaginings” which he describes as brought away from Chatham, this authority can tell us. It is one of the many passages in *Copperfield* which are literally true, and its proper place is here. “My father had left “a small collection of books in a little room up- A small
“stairs to which I had access (for it adjoined my but good
“own), and which nobody else in our house ever library.
“troubled. From that blessed little room, *Ro-*
“*derick Random, Peregrine Pickle, Humphrey*
“*Clinker, Tom Jones, the Vicar of Wakefield, Don*
“*Quixote, Gil Blas, and Robinson Crusoe* came
“out, a glorious host, to keep me company. They
“kept alive my fancy, and my hope of something
“beyond that place and time,—they, and the
“*Arabian Nights, and the Tales of the Genii,—*

CHATRAM:
1816-21.

D. C. "and did me no harm; for, whatever harm was in
C. D. "some of them, was not there for me; *I* knew

"nothing of it. It is astonishing to me now, how
"I found time, in the midst of my porings and
"blunderings over heavier themes, to read those
"books as I did. It is curious to me how I could
"ever have consoled myself under my small
"troubles (which were great troubles to me), by
"impersonating my favorite characters in them....
"I have been Tom Jones (a child's Tom Jones, a
"harmless creature) for a week together. I have
"sustained my own idea of Roderick Random for
"a month at a stretch, I verily believe. I had a
"greedy relish for a few volumes of voyages and
"travels—I forget what, now—that were on those
"shelves; and for days and days I can remember
"to have gone about my region of our house,
"armed with the centre-piece out of an old set of
"boot-trees: the perfect realisation of Captain
"Somebody, of the royal British navy, in danger
"of being beset by savages, and resolved to sell
"his life at a great price. . . . When I think of it,

Summer
evening
picture. "the picture always rises in my mind, of a sum-
mer evening, the boys at play in the church-
yard, and I sitting on my bed, reading as if for
life. Every barn in the neighbourhood, every
stone in the church, and every foot of the

“churchyard, had some association of its own, in
“my mind, connected with these books, and stood
“for some locality made famous in them. I have
“seen Tom Pipes go climbing up the church-
“steeple; I have watched Strap, with the knap-
“sack on his back, stopping to rest himself upon
“the wicket-gate; and I *know* that Commodore
“Trunnion held that club with Mr. Pickle, in the
“parlor of our little village alehouse.” Every
word of this personal recollection had been
written down as fact, some years before it found
its way into *David Copperfield*; the only change
in the fiction being his omission of the name of
a cheap series of novelists then in course of
publication, by which his father had become hap-
pily the owner of so large a lump of literary
treasure in his small collection of books.

The usual result followed. The child took to writing, himself; and became famous in his Tragedy-writing. childish circle for having written a tragedy called *Misnar*, the Sultan of India, founded (and very literally founded, no doubt) on one of the *Tales of the Genii*. Nor was this his only distinction. He told a story offhand so well, and sang small comic songs so especially well, that he used to be elevated on chairs and tables, both at home and abroad, for more effective display of these

CHATHAM: talents; and when he first told me of this, at one
1816-21.
Comic-song singing. of the twelfth-night parties on his eldest son's birthday, he said he never recalled it that his own shrill little voice of childhood did not again tingle in his ears, and he blushed to think what a horrible little nuisance he must have been to many unoffending grown-up people who were called upon to admire him.

Cousin Lamert.

His chief ally and encourager in these displays was a youth of some ability, much older than himself, named James Lamert, stepson to his mother's sister and therefore a sort of cousin, who was his great patron and friend in his childish days. Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles Barrow, himself a lieutenant in the navy, had for her first husband a commander in the navy called Allen; on whose death by drowning at Rio Janeiro she had joined her sister, the navy-pay clerk's wife, at Chatham; in which place she subsequently took for her second husband Doctor Lamert, an army-surgeon, whose son James, even after he had been sent to Sandhurst for his education, continued still to visit Chatham from time to time. He had a turn for private theatricals; and as his father's quarters were in the ordnance-hospital there, a great rambling place otherwise at that time almost uninhabited, he had plenty of room in which to

get up his entertainments. The staff-doctor himself played his part, and his portrait will be found in *Pickwick*.

CHATHAM:
1816-21.

By Lamert, I have often heard him say, he was first taken to the theatre at the very tenderest age. He could hardly, however, have been younger than Charles Lamb, whose first experience was of having seen *Artaxerxes* when six years old; and certainly not younger than Walter Scott, who was only four when he saw *As You Like It* on the Bath stage, and remembered having screamed out, *Ain't they brothers?* when scandalised by Orlando and Oliver beginning to fight.* But he was at any rate old enough to recollect how his young heart leapt with terror as the wicked king Richard, struggling for life against the virtuous Richmond, backed up and bumped against the box in which he was; and subsequent visits to the same sanctuary, as he tells us, revealed to him many wondrous secrets, "of which not the least "terrific were, that the witches in *Macbeth* bore "an awful resemblance to the thanes and other "proper inhabitants of Scotland; and that the

* "A few weeks' residence at home convinced me, who "had till then been an only child in the house of my grand- "father, that a quarrel between brothers was a very natural "event."—Lockhart's *Life*, i. 30.

CHATHAM: "good king Duncan couldn't rest in his grave,
1816-21. — "but was constantly coming out of it, and calling
"himself somebody else."

At Mr.
Giles's
school.

During the last two years of Charles's residence at Chatham, he was sent to a school kept in Clover-lane by the young Baptist minister already named, Mr. William Giles. I have the picture of him here, very strongly in my mind, as a sensitive, thoughtful, feeble-bodied little boy, with an unusual sort of knowledge and fancy for such a child, and with a dangerous kind of wandering intelligence that a teacher might turn to good or evil, happiness or misery, as he directed it. Nor does the influence of Mr. Giles, such as it was, seem to have been other than favourable. Charles had himself a not ungrateful sense in after years that this first of his masters, in his little cared for childhood, had pronounced him to be a boy of capacity; and when, about half-way through the publication of *Pickwick*, his old teacher sent a silver snuff-box with admiring inscription to "the inimitable Boz," it reminded him of praise far more precious obtained by him at his first year's examination in the Clover-lane academy, when his recitation of a piece out of the *Humourist's Miscellany* about Doctor Bolus, had received, unless his youthful vanity bewildered

Encored
in Doctor
Bolus.

him, a double encore. A habit, the only bad one taught him by Mr. Giles, of taking for a time, in very moderate quantities, the snuff called Irish blackguard, was the result of this gift from his old master; but he abandoned it after some few years, and it was never resumed.

CHATHAM:
1816-21.

It was in the boys' playing ground near Clover-lane in which the school stood, that, according to one of his youthful memories, he had been, in the hay-making time, delivered from the dungeons of Seringapatam, an immense pile "(of haycock)," by his countrymen the victorious British "(boy "next door and his two cousins)," and had been recognized with ecstacy by his affianced one "(Miss "Green)," who had come all the way from England "(second house in the terrace)," to ransom and marry him. It was in this playing-field, too, Boyish re-
collections. as he has himself recorded, he first heard in confidence from one whose father was greatly connected, "being under government," of the existence of a terrible banditti called *the radicals*, whose principles were that the prince-regent wore stays; that nobody had a right to any salary; and that the army and navy ought to be put down; horrors at which he trembled in his bed, after supplicating that the radicals might be speedily taken and hanged. Nor was it the least of the disappoint-

CHATHAM: ments of his visit in after life to the scenes of his
1816-21. boyhood that he found this play-field had been swallowed up by a railway station. It was gone, with its two beautiful trees of hawthorn; and where the hedge, the turf, and all the buttercups and daisies had been, there was nothing but the stoniest of jolting roads.

Quitting Chatham: He was not much over nine years old when
1821. his father was recalled from Chatham to Somerset-house, and he had to leave this good master, and the old place endeared to him by recollections that clung to him afterwards all his life long. It was here he had made the acquaintance not only of the famous books that David Copperfield specially names, of *Roderick Random*, *Peregrine Pickle*, *Humphrey Clinker*, *Tom Jones*, the *Vicar of Wakefield*, *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, *Robinson Crusoe*, the *Arabian Nights*, and the *Tales of the Genii*, but also of the *Spectator*, the *Taller*, the *Idler*, the *Citizen of the World*, and Mrs. Inchbald's *Collection of Farces*. These latter had been, as well, in the little library to which access was open to him; and of all of them his earliest remembrance was the having read them over and over at Chatham, not for the first, the second, or the third time. They were a host of friends when he had no single friend; and in leaving the place,

I have often heard him say, he seemed to be leaving them too, and everything that had given his ailing little life its picturesqueness or sunshine.

It was the birth-place of his fancy; and he hardly knew what store he had set by its busy varieties

CHATFLAM:
1891.

Birthplace
of his
fancy.

of change and scene, until he saw the falling cloud that was to hide its pictures from him for ever. The gay bright regiments always going and coming, the continual paradings and firings, the successions of sham-sieges and sham-defences, the plays got up by his cousin in the hospital, the navy-pay yacht in which he had sailed to Sheerness with his father, and the ships floating out in the Medway with their far visions of sea—he was to lose them all. He was never to watch the boys at their games any more, or see them sham over again the sham-sieges and sham-defences. He was to be taken to London inside the stage-coach Commodore; and Kentish woods and fields, Cobham park and hall, Rochester cathedral and castle, and all the wonderful romance together, including the red-cheeked baby he had been wildly in love with, were to vanish like a dream. "On the night before we came away," he told me, "my good master came flitting in among the packing-cases to give me Goldsmith's *Bee* as a "keepsake. Which I kept for his sake, and its

Last night
there:

C. D.
to
J. F.

CHATHAM: "own, a long time afterwards." A longer time
1821. afterwards he recollects the stage-coach journey, and said in one of his published papers that never had he forgotten, through all the intervening years, the smell of the damp straw in which he was packed and forwarded like game, carriage-paid. "There was no other inside passenger, C. D. *log.* and I consumed my sandwiches in solitude and "dreariness, and it rained hard all the way, and "I thought life sloppier than I expected to find it."

LONDON: The earliest impressions received and retained
1821-2. by him in London, were of his father's money involvements; and now first he heard mentioned "the deed," representing that crisis of his father's affairs in fact which is ascribed in fiction to Mr. Micawber's. He knew it in later days to have been a composition with creditors; though at this earlier date he was conscious of having confounded it with parchments of a much more demoniacal description. One result from the awful document soon showed itself in enforced retrenchment. The family had to take up its abode in a house in Bayham-street, Camden-town.

**Bayham-street,
Camden-town.** Bayham-street was about the poorest part of the London suburbs then, and the house was a mean small tenement, with a wretched little back-garden abutting on a squalid court. Here was

no place for new acquaintances to him: no boys were near with whom he might hope to become in any way familiar. A washerwoman lived next door, and a Bow-street officer lived over the way. Many many times has he spoken to me of this and how he seemed at once to fall into a solitary condition apart from all other boys of his own age, and to sink into a neglected state at home which had been always quite unaccountable to him. "As I thought," he said on one occasion very bitterly, "in the little back-garret in Bayham-street, of all I had lost in losing Chatham, what would I have given, if I had had anything to give, to have been sent back to any other school, to have been taught something anywhere!" He was at another school already, not knowing it. The self-education forced upon him was teaching him, all unconsciously as yet, what, for the future that awaited him, it most behoved him to know.

That he took, from the very beginning of this Bayham-street life, his first impression of that struggling poverty which is nowhere more vividly shown than in the commoner streets of the ordinary London suburb, and which enriched his earliest writings with a freshness of original humour and quite unstudied pathos that gave them much of their sudden popularity, there cannot be a

LONDON:
1891-2.

Bayham-
street.

C. D.
to
J. F.

LONDON:
1821-2.

First im-
pressions
from
Bayham-
street.

Faculty of
early obser-
vation.

doubt. "I certainly understood it," he has often said to me, "quite as well then as I do now." But he was not conscious yet that he did so understand it, or of the influence it was exerting on his life even then. It seems almost too much to assert of a child, say at nine or ten years old, that his observation of everything was as close and good, or that he had as much intuitive understanding of the character and weaknesses of the grown-up people around him, as when the same keen and wonderful faculty had made him famous among men. But my experience of him led me to put implicit faith in the assertion he unvaryingly himself made, that he had never seen any cause to correct or change what in his boyhood was his own secret impression of anybody, whom he had had, as a grown man, the opportunity of testing in later years.

How it came, that, being what he was, he should now have fallen into the misery and neglect of the time about to be described, was a subject on which thoughts were frequently interchanged between us; and on one occasion he gave me a sketch of the character of his father which, as I can here repeat it in the exact words employed by him, will be the best preface I can make to what I feel that I have no alternative but to tell.

"I know my father to be as kindhearted and generous a man as ever lived in the world. LONDON:
1821-2.
Bayham-
street.
"Everything that I can remember of his conduct
"to his wife, or children, or friends, in sickness
"or affliction, is beyond all praise. By me, as a
"sick child, he has watched night and day, un-
"weariedly and patiently, many nights and days.
"He never undertook any business, charge or
"trust, that he did not zealously, conscientiously,
"punctually, honourably discharge. His industry His own
description
of his father.
"has always been untiring. He was proud of me,
"in his way, and had a great admiration of the
"comic singing. But, in the ease of his temper,
"and the straitness of his means, he appeared to
"have utterly lost at this time the idea of edu-
"cating me at all, and to have utterly put from
"him the notion that I had any claim upon him,
"in that regard, whatever. So I degenerated into
"cleaning his boots of a morning, and my own;
"and making myself useful in the work of the
"little house; and looking after my younger
"brothers and sisters (we were now six in all);
"and going on such poor errands as arose out of
"our poor way of living."

The cousin by marriage of whom I have spoken, James Lamert, who had lately completed his education at Sandhurst and was waiting in

LONDON: hopes of a commission, lived now with the family in
1821-2.

Bayham street. Bayham-street, and had not lost his taste for the stage, or his ingenuities in connection with it.

A small theatre made for him. Taking pity on the solitary lad, he made and painted a little theatre for him. It was the only

fanciful reality of his present life; but it could not supply what he missed most sorely, the companionship of boys of his own age, with whom he might share in the advantages of school, and contend for its prizes. His sister Fanny was at about this time elected as a pupil to the royal academy of music; and he has told me what a stab to his heart it was, thinking of his own disregarded condition, to see her go away to begin her education, amid the tearful good wishes of everybody in the house.

Nevertheless, as time went on, his own education still unconsciously went on as well, under the sternest and most potent of teachers; and, neglected and miserable as he was, he managed gradually to transfer to London all the dreaminess and all the romance with which he had invested Chatham. There were then at the top of Bayham-street some almshouses, and were still when he re-visited it with me nearly twenty-seven years ago; and to go to this spot, he told me, and look from it over the dust-heaps and dock-leaves and

fields (no longer there when we saw it together) at the cupola of St. Paul's looming through the smoke, was a treat that served him for hours of vague reflection afterwards. To be taken out for a walk into the real town, especially if it were anywhere about Covent-garden or the Strand, perfectly entranced him with pleasure. But, most of all, he had a profound attraction of repulsion to St. Giles's. If he could only induce whomsoever took him out to take him through Seven-dials, he was supremely happy. "Good Heaven!" he would exclaim, "what wild visions of prodigies "of wickedness, want, and beggary, arose in my "mind out of that place!" He was all this time, the reader will remember, still subject to continual attacks of illness, and, by reason of them, a very small boy even for his age.

LONDON:
1831-2.

Bayham-

street.

St. Paul's.

St. Giles's.

That part of his boyhood is now very near of which, when the days of fame and prosperity came to him, he felt the weight upon his memory as a painful burthen until he could lighten it by sharing it with a friend; and an accident I will presently mention led him first to reveal it. There is, however, an interval of some months still to be described, of which, from conversations or letters that passed between us, after or because <sup>Desire that
I should</sup> write of him.

LONDON: fruit to these pages, I can supply some vague and
1821-2. desultory notices. The use thus made of them,
Bayham. it is due to myself to remark, was contemplated
street. then; for though, long before his death, I had
ceased to believe it likely that I should survive
to write about him, he had never withdrawn the
wish at this early time strongly expressed, or the
confidences, not only then but to the very eve of
his death reposed in me, that were to enable me
to fulfil it.* The fulfilment indeed he had

C. D.
to
J. F.

* The reader will forgive my quoting from a letter of the date of the 22nd April, 1848. "I desire no better for my "fame, when my personal dustiness shall be past the control "of my love of order, than such a biographer and such a "critic." "You know me better," he wrote, resuming the same subject on the 6th of July, 1862, "than any other man "does, or ever will." In an entry of my diary during the interval between these years, I find a few words that not only mark the time when I first saw in its connected shape the autobiographical fragment which will form the substance of the second chapter of this biography, but also express his own feeling respecting it when written. "20 January, 1849. The "description may make none of the impression on others that "the reality made on him. . . . Highly probable that it may "never see the light. No wish. Left to J. F. or others." The first number of *David Copperfield* appeared five months after this date; but though I knew, even before he adapted his fragment of autobiography to the eleventh number, that he had now abandoned the notion of completing it under his

himself rendered more easy by partially uplifting the veil in *David Copperfield*.

LONDON:
1821-2.

Bayham-
street.

The visits made from Bayham-street were chiefly to two connections of the family, his mother's elder brother, and his godfather. The latter, who was a rigger, and mast, oar, and block-maker, lived at Limehouse in a substantial handsome sort of way, and was kind to his godchild. It was always a great treat to him to go to Mr. Huffham's; and the London night-sights as he returned were a perpetual joy and marvel. Here, too, the comic-singing accomplishment was brought into play so greatly to the admiration of one of the godfather's guests, an honest boat-builder, that he pronounced the little lad to be a "prodigy." The visits to the uncle who was at this time fellow-clerk with his father, in Somerset-house, were nearer home. Mr. Thomas Barrow, the eldest of his mother's family, had broken his leg in a fall; and, while laid up with this illness, his lodging was in Gerrard-street, Soho, in the upper part of the house of a worthy gentleman then

At his god-
father's.

own name, the "*no wish*," or the discretion left me, was never in any way subsequently modified. What follows, from the same entry, refers to the manuscript of the fragment. "No blotting, as when writing fiction; but straight on, as "when writing ordinary letter."

LONDON: recently deceased, a bookseller named Manson,
1821-2.

Bayham-father to the partner in the celebrated firm of
street. Christie and Manson, whose widow at this time
carried on the business. Attracted by the look
of the lad as he went upstairs, these good people
lent him books to amuse him; among them Miss
Porter's *Scottish Chiefs*, Holbein's *Dance of Death*,
and George Colman's *Broad Grins*. The latter
seized his fancy very much; and he was so im-

Stolen
visit to
Covent-
garden.

pressed by its description of Covent-garden, in
the piece called the Elder-brother, that he stole
down to the market by himself to compare it
with the book. He remembered, as he said in
telling me this, snuffing up the flavour of the
faded cabbage-leaves as if it were the very breath
of comic fiction. Nor was he far wrong, as comic
fiction then and for some time after was. It was
reserved for himself to give sweeter and fresher
breath to it. Many years were to pass first, but
he was beginning already to make the trial.

His uncle was shaved by a very odd old
barber out of Dean-street, Soho, who was never
tired of reviewing the events of the last war, and
especially of detecting Napoleon's mistakes, and
re-arranging his whole life for him on a plan of
his own. The boy wrote a description of this
old barber, but never had courage to show it,

At about the same time, taking for his model the description of the canon's housekeeper in *Gil Blas*, he sketched a deaf old woman who waited on them in Bayham-street, and who made delicate hashes with walnut-ketchup. As little did he dare to show this, either; though he thought it, himself, extremely clever.

In Bayham-street, meanwhile, affairs were going on badly; the poor boy's visits to his uncle, while the latter was still kept a prisoner by his accident, were interrupted by another attack of fever; and on his recovery the mysterious "deed" had again come uppermost. His father's resources were so low, and all his expedients so thoroughly exhausted, that trial was to be made whether his mother might not come to the rescue. The time was arrived for her to exert herself, she said; and she "must do something." The godfather down at Limehouse was reported to have an Indian connexion. People in the East Indies always sent their children home to be educated. She would set up a school. They would all grow rich by it. And then, thought the sick boy, "perhaps even I "might go to school myself."

A house was soon found at number four, Gower-street north; a large brass plate on the door announced MRS. DICKENS'S ESTABLISHMENT;

LONDON:
1822.

Gower-
street
north.

C. D.
to
J. F.

His father
arrested.

and the result I can give in the exact words of the then small actor in the comedy, whose hopes it had raised so high. "I left, at a great many "other doors, a great many circulars calling attention to the merits of the establishment. Yet "nobody ever came to school, nor do I recollect "that anybody ever proposed to come, or that the "least preparation was made to receive anybody. "But I know that we got on very badly with the "butcher and baker; that very often we had not "too much for dinner; and that at last my father "was arrested." The interval between the sponging-house and the prison was passed by the sorrowful lad in running errands and carrying messages for the prisoner, delivered with swollen eyes and through shining tears; and the last words said to him by his father before he was finally carried to the Marshalsea, were to the effect that the sun was set upon him for ever. "I really believed at "the time," said Dickens to me, "that they had "broken my heart." He took afterwards ample revenge for this false alarm by making all the world laugh at them in *David Copperfield*.

The readers of Mr. Micawber's history who remember David's first visit to the Marshalsea prison, and how upon seeing the turnkey he recalled the turnkey in the blanket in *Roderick*

Random, will read with curious interest what follows, written as a personal experience of fact two or three years before the fiction had even entered into his thoughts.

LONDON:
1822.

Gower-
street
north.

"My father was waiting for me in the lodge, ^{Visit to his} _{father in} prison.
"and we went up to his room (on the top story
"but one), and cried very much. And he told
"me, I remember, to take warning by the Marshal-
"sea, and to observe that if a man had twenty
"pounds a-year, and spent nineteen pounds nine-
"teen shillings and sixpence, he would be happy;
"but that a shilling spent the other way would
"make him wretched. I see the fire we sat before, C. D. log.
"now; with two bricks inside the rusted grate, one
"on each side, to prevent its burning too many
"coals. Some other debtor shared the room with
"him, who came in by-and-by; and as the dinner
"was a joint-stock repast, I was sent up to 'Cap-
"tain Porter' in the room overhead, with Mr.
"Dickens's compliments, and I was his son, and
"could he, Captain P, lend me a knife and fork?

"Captain Porter lent the knife and fork, with ^{Prison} _{inmates.}
"his compliments in return. There was a very
"dirty lady in his little room; and two wan girls,
"his daughters, with shock heads of hair. I thought
"I should not have liked to borrow Captain Porter's
"comb. The Captain himself was in the last ex-

LONDON: "tremity of shabbiness; and if I could draw at all,
1822.
Gower-
street
north. "I would draw an accurate portrait of the old,
"old, brown great-coat he wore, with no other
"coat below it. His whiskers were large. I saw
"his bed rolled up in a corner; and what plates,
"and dishes, and pots he had, on a shelf; and I
"knew (God knows how) that the two girls with
"the shock heads were Captain Porter's natural
"children, and that the dirty lady was not married
"to Captain P. My timid, wondering station on
"his threshold, was not occupied more than a
"couple of minutes, I dare say; but I came down
"again to the room below with all this as surely
"in my knowledge, as the knife and fork were in
"my hand."

A child-
observer.

How there was something agreeable and gipsy-like in the dinner after all, and how he took back the Captain's knife and fork early in the afternoon, and how he went home to comfort his mother with an account of his visit, David Copperfield has also accurately told. Then, at home, came many miserable daily struggles that seemed to last an immense time, yet did not perhaps cover many weeks. Almost everything by degrees was sold or pawned, little Charles being the principal agent in those sorrowful transactions. Such of the books as had been brought from Chatham,

Peregrine Pickle, Roderick Random, Tom Jones, LONDON:
Humphrey Clinker, and all the rest, went first. 1822.
They were carried off from the little chiffonier, Gower-
street north,
which his father called the library, to a bookseller
in the Hampstead-road, the same that David Cop-
perfield describes as in the City-road; and the ac-
count of the sales, as they actually occurred and Disposes of
were told to me long before David was born, was old friends.
reproduced word for word in his imaginary nar-
rative. "The keeper of this bookstall, who lived
"in a little house behind it, used to get tipsy
"every night, and to be violently scolded by his
"wife every morning. More than once, when I
"went there early, I had audience of him in a
"turn-up bedstead, with a cut in his forehead or
"a black eye, bearing witness to his excesses over
"night (I am afraid he was quarrelsome in his
"drink); and he, with a shaking hand, endeavour-
"ing to find the needful shillings in one or other
"of the pockets of his clothes, which lay upon
"the floor, while his wife, with a baby in her arms
"and her shoes down at heel, never left off rating
"him. Sometimes he had lost his money, and
"then he would ask me to call again; but his wife
"had always got some (had taken his, I dare say,
"while he was drunk), and secretly completed

D. C.
(for C. D.)
log.

LONDON: "the bargain on the stairs, as we went down together."
1832.

Gower-
street
north.

At the pawn-
broker's.

The same pawnbroker's shop, too, which was so well known to David, became not less familiar to Charles; and a good deal of notice was here taken of him by the pawnbroker, or by his principal clerk who officiated behind the counter, and who, while making out the duplicate, liked of all things to hear the lad conjugate a Latin verb, and translate or decline his *musa* and *dominus*. Every thing to this accompaniment went gradually; until at last, even of the furniture of Gower-street number four, there was nothing left except a few chairs, a kitchen table, and some beds. Then they encamped, as it were, in the two parlours of the emptied house, and lived there night and day.

All which is but the prelude to what remains to be described.

CHAPTER II.

HARD EXPERIENCES IN BOYHOOD.

1822-1824.

THE incidents to be told now would probably never have been known to me, or indeed any of the occurrences of his childhood and youth, but for the accident of a question which I put to him one day in the March or April of 1847.

LONDON:
1822.

Gower-
street
north.

I asked if he remembered ever having seen in his boyhood our friend the elder Mr. Dilke, his father's acquaintance and contemporary, who had been a clerk in the same office in Somerset-house to which Mr. John Dickens belonged. Yes, he said, he recollects seeing him at a house in Gerrard-street, where his uncle Barrow lodged during an illness, and Mr. Dilke had visited him. Never at any other time. Upon which I told him that some one else had been intended in the mention made to me, for that the reference implied not merely his being met accidentally, but his having had some juvenile employment in a

LONDON:
1822.

Gower-
street
north.

warehouse near the Strand; at which place Mr. Dilke, being with the elder Dickens one day, had noticed him, and received, in return for the gift of a half-crown, a very low bow. He was silent for several minutes; I felt that I had unintentionally touched a painful place in his memory; and to Mr. Dilke I never spoke of the subject again. It was not however then, but some weeks later, that Dickens made further allusion to my thus having struck unconsciously upon a time of which he never could lose the remembrance while he remembered anything, and the recollection of which, at intervals, haunted him and made him miserable, even to that hour.

Tells the
story of his
boyhood.

Very shortly afterwards, I learnt in all their detail the incidents that had been so painful to him, and what then was said to me or written respecting them revealed the story of his boyhood. The idea of *David Copperfield*, which was to take all the world into his confidence, had not at this time occurred to him; but what it had so startled me to know, his readers were afterwards told with only such change or addition as for the time might sufficiently disguise himself under cover of his hero. For, the poor little lad, with good ability and a most sensitive nature, turned at the age of ten into a "labouring hind" in the service

D. C.
and
C. D.

of "Murdstone and Grinby," and conscious already of what made it seem very strange to him that he could so easily have been thrown away at such an age, was indeed himself. His was the secret agony of soul at finding himself "companion to Mick Walker and Mealy Potatoes," and his the tears that mingled with the water in which he and they rinsed and washed out bottles. It had all been written, as fact, before he thought of any other use for it; and it was not until several months later, when the fancy of *David Copperfield*, itself suggested by what he had so written of his early troubles, began to take shape in his mind, that he abandoned his first intention of writing his own life. Those warehouse experiences fell then so aptly into the subject he had chosen, that he could not resist the temptation of immediately using them; and the manuscript recording them, which was but the first portion of what he had designed to write, was embodied in the substance of the eleventh and earlier chapters of his novel. What already had been sent to me, however, and proof-sheets of the novel interlined at the time, enable me now to separate the fact from the fiction; and to supply to the story of the author's childhood those passages, omitted from the book, which, apart from their illustration of the

LONDON:
1822.

Gower-
street
north.

LONDON:
1892.

Gower-
street
north.

James and
George
Lamert.

growth of his character, present to us a picture of tragical suffering, and of tender as well as humorous fancy, unsurpassed in even the wonders of his published writings.

The person indirectly responsible for the scenes to be described was the young relative James Lamert, the cousin by his aunt's marriage of whom I have made frequent mention, who got up the plays at Chatham, and after passing at Sandhurst had been living with the family in Bayham-street in the hope of obtaining a commission in the army. This did not come until long afterwards, when, in consideration of his father's services, he received it, and relinquished it then in favour of a younger brother; but he had meanwhile, before the family removed from Camden-town, ceased to live with them. The husband of a sister of his (of the same name as himself, being indeed his cousin, George Lamert), a man of some property, had recently embarked in an odd sort of commercial speculation; and had taken him into his office, and his house, to assist in it. I give now the fragment of the autobiography of Dickens.

At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. log.

"This speculation was a rivalry of 'Warren's
"Blacking, 30, Strand,'—at that time very famous.
"One Jonathan Warren (the famous one was Ro-
"bert), living at 30, Hungerford-stairs, or market,

"Strand (for I forget which it was called then),
"claimed to have been the original inventor or
"proprietor of the blacking recipe, and to have
"been deposed and ill-used by his renowned re-
"lation. At last he put himself in the way of
"selling his recipe, and his name, and his 30,
"Hungerford-stairs, Strand (30, Strand, very large,
"and the intermediate direction very small), for
"an annuity; and he set forth by his agents that
"a little capital would make a great business of
"it. The man of some property was found in
"George Lamert, the cousin and brother-in-law
"of James. He bought this right and title, and
"went into the blacking business and the black-
"ing premises.

"—In an evil hour for me, as I often bitterly
"thought. Its chief manager, James Lamert, the
"relative who had lived with us in Bayham-street,
"seeing how I was employed from day to day,
"and knowing what our domestic circumstances
"then were, proposed that I should go into the ^{First em-}
"blacking warehouse, to be as useful as I could, ^{ployment} _{in life.}
"at a salary, I think, of six shillings a week. I
"am not clear whether it was six or seven. I am
"inclined to believe, from my uncertainty on this
"head, that it was six at first, and seven after-
"wards. At any rate the offer was accepted very

LONDON:
1822-4.
At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. log.

LONDON: "willingly by my father and mother, and on a
1822-4.

At Hungerford-stairs. "Monday morning I went down to the blacking
warehouse to begin my business life.
C. D. log.

"It is wonderful to me how I could have been
"so easily cast away at such an age. It is won-
"derful to me, that, even after my descent into
"the poor little drudge I had been since we came
"to London, no one had compassion enough on
"me—a child of singular abilities, quick, eager,
"delicate, and soon hurt, bodily or mentally—to
"suggest that something might have been spared,
"as certainly it might have been, to place me at
"any common school. Our friends, I take it, were
"tired out. No one made any sign. My father
"and mother were quite satisfied. They could
"hardly have been more so, if I had been twenty
"years of age, distinguished at a grammar-school,
"and going to Cambridge.

The blacking ware-
house.

"The blacking warehouse was the last house
"on the left-hand side of the way, at old Hunger-
"ford-stairs. It was a crazy, tumble-down old
"house, abutting of course on the river, and liter-
"ally overrun with rats. Its wainscotted rooms,
"and its rotten floors and staircase, and the old
"grey rats swarming down in the cellars, and the
"sound of their squeaking and scuffling coming
"up the stairs at all times, and the dirt and

“decay of the place, rise up visibly before me, as LONDON:
“if I were there again. The counting-house was 1822-4.
“on the first floor, looking over the coal-barges At Hunger-
“and the river. There was a recess in it, in ford-stairs.
“which I was to sit and work. My work was to C. D. log.
“cover the pots of paste-blacking; first with a
“piece of oil-paper, and then with a piece of blue
“paper; to tie them round with a string; and
“then to clip the paper close and neat, all round,
“until it looked as smart as a pot of ointment
“from an apothecary’s shop. When a certain
“number of grosses of pots had attained this pitch
“of perfection, I was to paste on each a printed
“label; and then go on again with more pots.
“Two or three other boys were kept at similar
“duty down stairs on similar wages. One of them
“came up, in a ragged apron and a paper cap,
“on the first Monday morning, to show me the
“trick of using the string and tying the knot. His
“name was Bob Fagin; and I took the liberty of Bob Fagin.
“using his name, long afterwards, in *Oliver Twist*.

“Our relative had kindly arranged to teach
“me something in the dinner-hour; from twelve to
“one, I think it was; every day. But an arrange-
“ment so incompatible with counting-house busi-
“ness soon died away, from no fault of his or
“mine; and for the same reason, my small work- “Facilia
“Descensus.”

LONDON: 1832-4.
At Hungerford-stairs. C. D. log.
"Poll" Green.

"table, and my grosses of pots, my papers, string,
"scissors, paste-pot, and labels, by little and little,
"vanished out of the recess in the counting-house,
"and kept company with the other small work-
"tables, grosses of pots, papers, string, scissors,
"and paste-pots, downstairs. It was not long, be-
"fore Bob Fagin and I, and another boy whose
"name was Paul Green, but who was currently
"believed to have been christened Poll (a belief
"which I transferred, long afterwards again, to
"Mr. Sweeney, in *Martin Chuzzlewit*), worked
"generally, side by side. Bob Fagin was an
"orphan, and lived with his brother-in-law, a
"waterman. Poll Green's father had the additional
"distinction of being a fireman, and was em-
"ployed at Drury-lane theatre; where another re-
"lation of Poll's, I think his little sister, did imps
"in the pantomimes.

Crushed hopes and recollections.

"No words can express the secret agony of
"my soul as I sunk into this companionship; com-
"pared these every day associates with those of
"my happier childhood; and felt my early hopes
"of growing up to be a learned and distinguished
"man, crushed in my breast. The deep remem-
"brance of the sense I had of being utterly ne-
"glected and hopeless; of the shame I felt in my
"position; of the misery it was to my young

"heart to believe that, day by day, what I had learned, and thought, and delighted in, and raised my fancy and my emulation up by, was passing away from me, never to be brought back any more; cannot be written. My whole nature was so penetrated with the grief and humiliation of such considerations, that even now, famous and caressed and happy, I often forget in my dreams that I have a dear wife and children; even that I am a man; and wander desolately back to that time of my life.

LONDON:
1832-4.
At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. log.

"My mother and my brothers and sisters (ex-
cepting Fanny in the royal academy of music) were still encamped, with a young servant-girl from Chatham-workhouse, in the two parlours in "the emptied house in Gower-street north. It was "a long way to go and return within the dinner-hour, and, usually, I either carried my dinner "with me, or went and bought it at some neighbouring shop. In the latter case, it was commonly a saveloy and a penny loaf; sometimes, a fourpenny plate of beef from a cook's shop; sometimes, a plate of bread and cheese, and a glass of beer, from a miserable old public-house over the way: the Swan, if I remember right, or the Swan and something else that I have forgotten. Once, I remember tucking my own

The family
in Gower-
street.

LONDON:
1822-4.

At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. log.

Regaling
alamode.

Saturday
night's
journey
home.

"bread (which I had brought from home in the morning) under my arm, wrapped up in a piece of paper like a book, and going into the best dining-room in Johnson's alamode beef-house in Clare-court, Drury-lane, and magnificently ordering a small plate of alamode beef to eat with it. What the waiter thought of such a strange little apparition, coming in all alone, I don't know; but I can see him now, staring at me as "I ate my dinner, and bringing up the other waiter to look. I gave him a halfpenny, and I wish, now, that he hadn't taken it."

I lose here for a little while the fragment of direct narrative, but I perfectly recollect that he used to describe Saturday night as his great treat. It was a grand thing to walk home with six shillings in his pocket, and to look in at the shop windows, and think what it would buy. Hunt's roasted corn, as a British and patriotic substitute for coffee, was in great vogue just then; and the little fellow used to buy it, and roast it on the Sunday. There was a cheap periodical of selected pieces called the *Portfolio*, which he had also a great fancy for taking home with him. The new proposed "deed," meanwhile, had failed to propitiate his father's creditors; all hope of arrangement passed away; and

the end was that his mother and her encampment in Gower-street north broke up and went to live in the Marshalsea. I am able at this point to resume his own account.

“The key of the house was sent back to the landlord, who was very glad to get it; and I (small Cain that I was, except that I had never “done harm to any one) was handed over as a lodger to a reduced old lady, long known to our family, in Little-college-street, Camden-town, who “took children in to board, and had once done “so at Brighton; and who, with a few alterations “and embellishments, unconsciously began to sit “for Mrs. Pipchin in *Dombey* when she took “in me.

“She had a little brother and sister under her care then; somebody’s natural children, who “were very irregularly paid for; and a widow’s “little son. The two boys and I slept in the “same room. My own exclusive breakfast, of a “penny cottage loaf and a pennyworth of milk, I “provided for myself. I kept another small loaf, “and a quarter of a pound of cheese, on a particular shelf of a particular cupboard; to make “my supper on when I came back at night. They “made a hole in the six or seven shillings, I “know well; and I was out at the blacking-ware-

LONDON.
1822-4.

At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. *log.*

Home
broken up.

At Mrs.
Roylance’s
in Camden-
town.

LONDON:
1822-4.

At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. log.

A cast-a-
way.

Sundays in
prison.

"house all day, and had to support myself upon
"that money all the week. I suppose my lodging
"was paid for, by my father. I certainly did not
"pay it myself; and I certainly had no other
"assistance whatever (the making of my clothes,
"I think, excepted), from Monday morning until
"Saturday night. No advice, no counsel, no en-
"couragement, no consolation, no support, from
"any one that I can call to mind, so help me
"God.

"Sundays, Fanny and I passed in the prison.
"I was at the academy in Tenterden-street, Han-
"over-square, at nine o'clock in the morning, to
"fetch her; and we walked back there together,
"at night.

"I was so young and childish, and so little
"qualified—how could I be otherwise?—to under-
"take the whole charge of my own existence,
"that, in going to Hungerford-stairs of a morn-
"ing, I could not resist the stale pastry put out
"at half-price on trays at the confectioners' doors
"in Tottenham-court-road; and I often spent in
"that, the money I should have kept for my din-
"ner. Then I went without my dinner, or bought
"a roll, or a slice of pudding. There were two
"pudding shops between which I was divided,
"according to my finances. One was in a court

“close to St. Martin’s-church (at the back of the ^{LONDON:}
^{1822-4.} “church) which is now removed altogether. The ^{At Hunger-}
 “pudding at that shop was made with currants,
^{ford-stairs,} C. D. *log.*
 “and was rather a special pudding, but was dear: ^{A choice of}
 “two penn’orth not being larger than a penn’orth puddings.
 “of more ordinary pudding. A good shop for
 “the latter was in the Strand, somewhere near
 “where the Lowther-arcade is now. It was a
 “stout, hale pudding, heavy and flabby; with
 “great raisins in it, stuck in whole, at great dis-
 “tances apart. It came up hot, at about noon
 “every day; and many and many a day did I
 “dine off it.

“We had half-an-hour, I think, for tea. When
 “I had money enough, I used to go to a coffee-
 “shop, and have half-a-pint of coffee, and a slice
 “of bread and butter. When I had no money, I
 “took a turn in Covent-garden market, and stared ^{Places of}
^{resort.} “at the pine-apples. The coffee-shops to which
 “I most resorted were, one in Maiden-lane; one
 “in a court (non-existent now) close to Hunger-
 “ford-market; and one in St. Martin’s-lane, of
 “which I only recollect that it stood near the
 “church, and that in the door there was an oval
 “glass-plate, with COFFEE-ROOM painted on it,
 “addressed towards the street. If I ever find
 “myself in a very different kind of coffee-room

LONDON: "now, but where there is such an inscription on
1822-4. "glass, and read it backward on the wrong side
At Hunger- "MOOR-EEFFOC (as I often used to do then, in
ford-stairs. C. D. log. "a dismal reverie), a shock goes through my
"blood.

What really was: "I know I do not exaggerate, unconsciously
"and unintentionally, the scantiness of my re-
"sources and the difficulties of my life. I know
"that if a shilling or so were given me by any
"one, I spent it in a dinner or a tea. I know
"that I worked, from morning to night, with com-
"mon men and boys, a shabby child. I know
"that I tried, but ineffectually, not to anticipate
"my money, and to make it last the week through;
"by putting it away in a drawer I had in the
"counting-house, wrapped into six little parcels,
"each parcel containing the same amount, and
"labelled with a different day. I know that I
"have lounged about the streets, insufficiently
what easily might have been. "and unsatisfactorily fed. I know that, but for
"the mercy of God, I might easily have been, for
"any care that was taken of me, a little robber
"or a little vagabond.

"But I held some station at the blacking
"warehouse too. Besides that my relative at the
"counting-house did what a man so occupied,
"and dealing with a thing so anomalous, could,

"to treat me as one upon a different footing from
"the rest, I never said, to man or boy, how it
"was that I came to be there, or gave the least
"indication of being sorry that I was there. That
"I suffered in secret, and that I suffered exqui-
"sitely, no one ever knew but I. How much I
"suffered, it is, as I have said already, utterly be-
"yond my power to tell. No man's imagination
"can overstep the reality. But I kept my own
"counsel, and I did my work. I knew from the
"first, that if I could not do my work as well as
"any of the rest, I could not hold myself above
"slight and contempt. I soon became at least as
"expeditious and as skilful with my hands, as
"either of the other boys. Though perfectly
"familiar with them, my conduct and manners
"were different enough from theirs to place a
"space between us. They, and the men, always
"spoke of me as 'the young gentleman.' A cer-
tain man (a soldier once) named Thomas, who
"was the foreman, and another named Harry,
"who was the carman and wore a red jacket,
"used to call me 'Charles' sometimes, in speak-
"ing to me; but I think it was mostly when we
"were very confidential, and when I had made
"some efforts to entertain them over our work
"with the results of some of the old readings,

LONDON:
1822-4.
At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. log.

LONDON: 1822-4.
At Hunger-ford-stairs. C. D. log.

"which were fast perishing out of my mind. Poll Green uprose once, and rebelled against the 'young gentleman' usage; but Bob Fagin settled "him speedily.

Remonstrance with his father.

A lodg ing
in Lant-
street.

"My rescue from this kind of existence I considered quite hopeless, and abandoned as such, altogether; though I am solemnly convinced "that I never, for one hour, was reconciled to it, "or was otherwise than miserably unhappy. I felt "keenly, however, the being so cut off from my "parents, my brothers, and sisters; and, when my "day's work was done, going home to such a "miserable blank; and *that*, I thought, might be "corrected. One Sunday night I remonstrated "with my father on this head, so pathetically and "with so many tears, that his kind nature gave "way. He began to think that it was not quite "right. I do believe he had never thought so "before, or thought about it. It was the first remonstrance I had ever made about my lot, and "perhaps it opened up a little more than I intended. A back-attic was found for me at the "house of an insolvent-court agent, who lived in "Lant-street in the borough, where Bob Sawyer "lodged many years afterwards. A bed and "bedding were sent over for me, and made up "on the floor. The little window had a pleasant

"prospect of a timber-yard; and when I took pos-
 "session of my new abode, I thought it was a
 "Paradise."

LONDON:
 1893-4.

At Hunger-
 ford-stairs.

There is here another blank, which it is however not difficult to supply from letters and recollections of my own. What was to him of course the great pleasure of his paradise of a lodging, was its bringing him again, though after a fashion sorry enough, within the circle of home. From this time he used to breakfast "at home," in other words in the Marshalsea; going to it as early as the gates were open, and for the most part much earlier. They had no want of bodily comforts there. His father's income, still going on, was amply sufficient for that; and in every respect indeed but elbow-room, I have heard him say, the family lived more comfortably in prison than they had done for a long time out of it. They were waited on still by the maid-of-all-work from Bayham-street, the orphan girl of the Chatham workhouse, from whose sharp little worldly and also kindly ways he took his first impression of the Marchioness in the *Old Curiosity Shop*. She C. D. and also had a lodgings in the neighbourhood that she ^{the Mar-} chioness. might be early on the scene of her duties; and when Charles met her, as he would do occasionally, in his lounging-place by London-bridge, he

LONDON:
1832-4.

At Hunger-
ford-stairs.

would occupy the time before the gates opened by telling her quite astonishing fictions about the wharves and the tower. "But I hope I believed "them myself," he would say. Besides breakfast, he had supper also in the prison; and got to his lodging generally at nine o'clock. The gates closed always at ten.

I must not omit what he told me of the landlord of this little lodging. He was a fat, good-natured, kind old gentleman. He was lame, and had a quiet old wife; and he had a very innocent grown-up son, who was lame too. They were all very kind to the boy. He was taken with one of his old attacks of spasm one night, and the whole three of them were about his bed until morning. They were all dead when he told me this, but in another form they live still very pleasantly as the Garland family in the *Old Curiosity Shop*.

He had a similar illness one day in the warehouse, which I can describe in his own words. "Bob Fagin was very good to me on the occasion "of a bad attack of my old disorder. I suffered "such excruciating pain that time, that they made "a temporary bed of straw in my old recess in "the counting-house, and I rolled about on the "floor, and Bob filled empty blacking-bottles with

C. D. log.

"hot water, and applied relays of them to my LONDON:
1832-4.
At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. log.
"side, half the day. I got better, and quite easy
"towards evening; but Bob (who was much bigger
"and older than I) did not like the idea of my
"going home alone, and took me under his pro-
"tection. I was too proud to let him know about
"the prison; and after making several efforts to
"get rid of him, to all of which Bob Fagin in his
"goodness was deaf, shook hands with him on
"the steps of a house near Southwark-bridge on
"the Surrey side, making believe that I lived there.
"As a finishing piece of reality in case of his
"looking back, I knocked at the door, I recollect, Adventure
with Bob
Fagin.
"and asked, when the woman opened it, if that
"was Mr. Robert Fagin's house."

The Saturday nights continued, as before, to C. D. log. be precious to him. "My usual way home was "over Blackfriars-bridge, and down that turning "in the Blackfriars-road which has Rowland Hill's "chapel on one side, and the likeness of a golden "dog licking a golden pot over a shop door on "the other. There are a good many little low- Home to
Lant-street.
"browed old shops in that street, of a wretched "kind; and some are unchanged now. I looked "into one a few weeks ago, where I used to buy "boot-laces on Saturday nights, and saw the "corner where I once sat down on a stool to

LONDON:
1822-4.

At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. log.

Saturday
night
shows.

Appraised
officially.

"have a pair of ready-made half-boots fitted on." "I have been seduced more than once, in that street on a Saturday night, by a show-van at a corner; and have gone in, with a very motley assemblage, to see the Fat-pig, the Wild-indian, and the Little-lady. There were two or three hat-manufactories there, then (I think they are there still); and among the things which, encountered anywhere, or under any circumstances, will instantly recall that time, is the smell of hat-making."

His father's attempts to avoid going through the court having failed, all needful ceremonies had to be undertaken to obtain the benefit of the insolvent debtors' act; and in one of these little Charles had his part to play. One condition of the statute was that the wearing apparel and personal matters retained were not to exceed twenty pounds sterling in value. "It was necessary, as a matter of form, that the clothes I wore should be seen by the official appraiser. I had a half-holiday to enable me to call upon him, at his own time, at a house somewhere beyond the Obelisk. I recollect his coming out to look at me with his mouth full, and a strong smell of beer upon him, and saying good-naturedly that 'that would do,' and 'it was all right.' Certainly

"the hardest creditor would not have been dis-
 "posed (even if he had been legally entitled) to
 "avail himself of my poor white hat, little jacket,
 "or corduroy trowsers. But I had a fat old silver
 "watch in my pocket, which had been given me
 "by my grandmother before the blacking days,
 "and I had entertained my doubts as I went along
 "whether that valuable possession might not bring
 "me over the twenty pounds. So I was greatly
 "relieved, and made him a bow of acknowledg-
 "ment as I went out."

LONDON:
1892-4.

At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. log.

Still the want felt most by him was the companionship of boys of his own age. He had no such acquaintance. Sometimes, he remembered to have played on the coal-barges at dinner time, <sup>Playing on
the coal-
barges.</sup> with Poll Green and Bob Fagin; but those were rare occasions. He generally strolled alone, about the back streets of the Adelphi; or explored the Adelphi arches. One of his favourite localities was a little public-house by the water-side called the Fox-under-the-hill, approached by an underground passage which we once missed in looking for it together;* and he had a vision which he

* An obliging correspondent writes to me: "Will you permit me to say, that the house, shut up and almost ruinous, is still to be found at the bottom of a curious and most precipitous court, the entrance of which is just past Salis-

LONDON:
1833-4.

At Hunger-
ford-stairs.

D. C.
for
C. D.

has mentioned in *Copperfield* of sitting eating something on a bench outside, one fine evening, and looking at some coal-heavers dancing before the house. "I wonder what they thought of me." says David. He had himself already said the same in his fragment of autobiography.

Another characteristic little incident he made afterwards one of David's experiences, but I am able to give it here without the disguises that adapt it to the fiction. "I was such a little fellow, "with my poor white hat, little jacket, and corduroy trowsers, that frequently, when I went into "the bar of a strange public-house for a glass of "ale or porter to wash down the saveloy and the "loaf I had eaten in the street, they didn't like to "give it me. I remember, one evening (I had "been somewhere for my father, and was going "back to the borough over Westminster-bridge), "that I went into a public-house in Parliament- street, which is still there though altered, at the "corner of the short street leading into Cannon- row, and said to the landlord behind the bar, "What is your very best—the *very best*—ale, a

Publican
and wife at
Cannon-row.

"bury-street. . . . It was once, I think, the approach to the "halfpenny boats. The house is now shut out from the water-side by the Embankment."

“‘glass?’ For, the occasion was a festive one, LONDON:
1822-4.
“for some reason: I forget why. It may have At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. log.
“been my birthday, or somebody else’s. ‘Two-
“‘pence,’ says he. ‘Then,’ says I, ‘just draw me
“a glass of that, if you please, with a good head
“to it.’ The landlord looked at me, in return,
“over the bar, from head to foot, with a strange
“smile on his face; and instead of drawing the
“beer, looked round the screen and said some-
“thing to his wife, who came out from behind it,
“with her work in her hand, and joined him in
“surveying me. Here we stand, all three, before
“me now, in my study in Devonshire-terrace. The
“landlord, in his shirt sleeves, leaning against the
“bar window-frame; his wife, looking over the
“little half-door; and I, in some confusion, look-
“ing up at them from outside the partition. They
“asked me a good many questions, as what my
“name was, how old I was, where I lived, how I
“was employed, &c. &c. To all of which, that I
“might commit nobody, I invented appropriate
“answers. They served me with the ale, though I
“suspect it was not the strongest on the premises;
“and the landlord’s wife, opening the little half-
“door and bending down, gave me a kiss that
“was half-admiring and half-compassionate, but
“all womanly and good, I am sure.”

LONDON:
1822-4.

At Hunger-
ford-stairs.
C. D. log.

A Marshal-
sea incident
in *Copper-
field*.

A later, and not less characteristic, incident of the true story of this time found also a place, three or four years after it was written, in his now famous fiction. It preceded but by a short time the discharge, from the Marshalsea, of the elder Dickens; to whom a rather considerable legacy from a relative had accrued not long before ("some hundreds" I understood), and had been paid into court during his imprisonment. The scene to be described arose on the occasion of a petition drawn up by him before he left, praying, not for the abolition of imprisonment for debt as David Copperfield relates, but for the less dignified but more accessible boon of a bounty to the prisoners to drink his majesty's health on his majesty's forthcoming birthday.

The inci-
dent as it
occurred.

"I mention the circumstance because it illustrates, to me, my early interest in observing people. When I went to the Marshalsea of a night, I was always delighted to hear from my mother what she knew about the histories of the different debtors in the prison; and when I heard of this approaching ceremony, I was so anxious to see them all come in, one after another (though I knew the greater part of them already, to speak to, and they me), that I got leave of absence on purpose, and established myself in a corner,

“near the petition. It was stretched out, I re- LONDON:
“collect, on a great ironing-board, under the win- 1822-4.
“dow, which in another part of the room made a At Hunger-
“bedstead at night. The internal regulations of ford-stairs.
“the place, for cleanliness and order, and for the
“government of a common room in the ale-house;
“where hot water and some means of cooking,
“and a good fire, were provided for all who paid
“a very small subscription; were excellently ad-
“ministered by a governing committee of debtors,
“of which my father was chairman for the time
“being. As many of the principal officers of this
“body as could be got into the small room without
“filling it up, supported him, in front of the peti- Last expe-
“tion; and my old friend Captain Porter (who rience in
“had washed himself, to do honour to so solemn
“an occasion) stationed himself close to it, to
“read it to all who were unacquainted with its
“contents. The door was then thrown open, and
“they began to come in, in a long file; several
“waiting on the landing outside, while one entered,
“affixed his signature, and went out. To every-
“body in succession, Captain Porter said, ‘Would
“you like to hear it read?’ If he weakly showed
“the least disposition to hear it, Captain Porter,
“in a loud sonorous voice, gave him every word
“of it. I remember a certain luscious roll he

LONDON: "gave to such words as 'Majesty—gracious Ma-
1832-4.

At Hunger- "jesty—your gracious Majesty's unfortunate sub-

ford-stairs. "jects—your Majesty's well-known munificence,'

C. D. log. "'as if the words were something real in his

"mouth, and delicious to taste: my poor father

"meanwhile listening with a little of an author's

"vanity, and contemplating (not severely) the

"spikes on the opposite wall. Whatever was

"comical in this scene, and whatever was pathetic,

"I sincerely believe I perceived in my corner,

"whether I demonstrated or not, quite as well as

"I should perceive it now. I made out my own

"little character and story for every man who put

"his name to the sheet of paper. I might be able

"to do that now, more truly: not more earnestly,

"or with a closer interest. Their different pecu-

"liarities of dress, of face, of gait, of manner,

"were written indelibly upon my memory. I would

"rather have seen it than the best play ever played;

"and I thought about it afterwards, over the pots

Early in- Materials for "of paste-blacking, often and often. When I

terest in Pickwick. "looked, with my mind's eye, into the Fleet-prison

"during Mr. Pickwick's incarceration, I wonder

"whether half-a-dozen men were wanting from

"the Marshalsea crowd that came filing in again,

"to the sound of Captain Porter's voice!"

When the family left the Marshalsea they all

went to lodge with the lady in Little-college-street, London:
1822-4.
At Hunger-
ford-stairs. a Mrs. Roylance, who has obtained unexpected immortality as Mrs. Pipchin; and they afterwards occupied a small house in Somers-town. But, before this time, Charles was present with some of them in Tenterden-street to see his sister Fanny His sister
Fanny. receive one of the prizes given to the pupils of the royal academy of music. "I could not bear C. D. *log.*" "to think of myself—beyond the reach of all such "honourable emulation and success. The tears "ran down my face. I felt as if my heart were "rent. I prayed, when I went to bed that night, "to be lifted out of the humiliation and neglect "in which I was. I never had suffered so much "before. There was no envy in this." There was little need that he should say so. Extreme enjoyment in witnessing the exercise of her talents, the utmost pride in every success obtained by them, he manifested always to a degree otherwise quite unusual with him; and on the day of her funeral, which we passed together, I had most affecting proof of his tender and grateful memory of her in these childish days. A few more sentences, certainly not less touching than any that have gone before, will bring the story of them to its close. They stand here exactly as written by him.

LONDON:
1822-4.

At Chandos-
street,
Covent-
garden.
C. D. log.
The black-
ing house
removed.

"I am not sure that it was before this time,
"or after it, that the blacking warehouse was re-
"moved to Chandos-street, Covent-garden. It is
"no matter. Next to the shop at the corner of
"Bedford-street in Chandos-street, are two rather
"old-fashioned houses and shops adjoining one
"another. They were one then, or thrown into
"one, for the blacking business; and had been a
"butter shop. Opposite to them was, and is, a
"public-house, where I got my ale, under these
"new circumstances. The stones in the street
"may be smoothed by my small feet going across
"to it at dinner-time, and back again. The esta-
"blishment was larger now, and we had one or
"two new boys. Bob Fagin and I had attained
"to great dexterity in tying up the pots. I forget
"how many we could do, in five minutes. We
"worked, for the light's sake, near the second win-
"dow as you come from Bedford-street; and we
"were so brisk at it, that the people used to stop
"and look in. Sometimes there would be quite
"a little crowd there. I saw my father coming in
"at the door one day when we were very busy,
"and I wondered how he could bear it.

"Now, I generally had my dinner in the ware-
"house. Sometimes I brought it from home, so
"I was better off. I see myself coming across

"Russell-square from Somers-town, one morning,
 "with some cold hotch-potch in a small basin
 "tied up in a handkerchief. I had the same wan-
 "derings about the streets as I used to have, and
 "was just as solitary and self-dependent as be-
 "fore; but I had not the same difficulty in merely
 "living. I never however heard a word of being
 "taken away, or of being otherwise than quite
 "provided for.

LONDON:
 1822-4.

At Chandos-
 street,

Covent-
 garden.

C. D. log.

Solitary
 street wan-
 derings.

"At last, one day, my father, and the relative
 "so often mentioned, quarrelled; quarrelled by
 "letter, for I took the letter from my father to
 "him which caused the explosion, but quarrelled
 "very fiercely. It was about me. It may have Father's
 "had some backward reference, in part, for any- quarrel
 "thing I know, to my employment at the window. with James
 Lamert.

"All I am certain of is, that, soon after I had
 "given him the letter, my cousin (he was a sort
 "of cousin, by marriage) told me he was very
 "much insulted about me; and that it was im-
 "possible to keep me, after that. I cried very
 "much, partly because it was so sudden, and
 "partly because in his anger he was violent about
 "my father, though gentle to me. Thomas, the
 "old soldier, comforted me, and said he was sure
 "it was for the best. With a relief so strange
 "that it was like oppression, I went home.

LONDON:
1822-4.

At Chandos
street,
Covent-
garden.
C. D. log.

Quits the
warehouse.

A silence of
a quarter of
a century:

broken by
no one.

"My mother set herself to accommodate the quarrel, and did so next day. She brought home a request for me to return next morning, and a high character of me, which I am very sure I deserved. My father said, I should go back no more, and should go to school. I do not write resentfully or angrily: for I know how all these things have worked together to make me what I am: but I never afterwards forgot, I never shall forget, I never can forget, that my mother was warm for my being sent back.

"From that hour until this at which I write, no word of that part of my childhood which I have now gladly brought to a close, has passed my lips to any human being. I have no idea how long it lasted; whether for a year, or much more, or less. From that hour, until this, my father and my mother have been stricken dumb upon it. I have never heard the least allusion to it, however far off and remote, from either of them. I have never, until I now impart it to this paper, in any burst of confidence with any one, my own wife not excepted, raised the curtain I then dropped, thank God.

"Until old Hungerford-market was pulled down, until old Hungerford-stairs were destroyed, and the very nature of the ground changed, I

"never had the courage to go back to the place where my servitude began. I never saw it. I could not endure to go near it. For many years, when I came near to Robert Warren's in the Strand, I crossed over to the opposite side of the way, to avoid a certain smell of the cement they put upon the blacking-corks, which reminded me of what I was once. It was a very long time before I liked to go up Chandos-street. My old way home by the borough made me cry, after my eldest child could speak.

"In my walks at night I have walked there often, since then, and by degrees I have come to write this. It does not seem a tithe of what I might have written, or of what I meant to write."

The substance of some after-talk explanatory of points in the narrative, of which a note was made at the time, may be briefly added. He could hardly have been more than twelve years old when he left the place, and was still unusually small for his age; much smaller, though two years older, than his own eldest son was at the time of these confidences. His mother had been in the blacking warehouse many times; his father not more than once or twice. The rivalry of Robert Warren by Jonathan's representatives, the

LONDON:
1892-4.
C. D. log.

Associa-
tions of
servitude.

End of
autobio-
graphical
fragment.

LONDON:
1824.

cousins George and James, was carried to wonderful extremes in the way of advertisement; and they were all very proud, he told me, of the cat scratching the boot, which was *their* house's device. The poets in the house's regular employ he remembered, too, and made his first study from one of them for the poet of Mrs. Jarley's wax-work. The whole enterprise, however, had the usual end of such things. The younger cousin tired of the concern; and a Mr. Wood, the proprietor who took James's share and became George's partner, sold it ultimately to Robert Warren. It continued to be his at the time Dickens and myself last spoke of it together, and he had made an excellent bargain of it.

What became of the business.

CHAPTER III.

SCHOOL-DAYS AND START IN LIFE.

1824-30.

IN what way these strange experiences of his boyhood affected him afterwards, this narrative of his life must show: but there were influences that made themselves felt even on his way to manhood.

What at once he brought out of the humiliation that had impressed him so deeply, though scarcely as yet quite consciously, was a natural dread of the hardships that might still be in store for him, sharpened by what he had gone through; and this, though in its effect for the present imperfectly understood, became by degrees a passionate resolve, even while he was yielding to circumstances, *not to be* what circumstances were conspiring to make him. All that was involved in what he had suffered and sunk into, could not have been known to him at the time; but it was plain enough later, as we see; and in conversation

LONDON:
1824.

Outcome of
boyish trials.

LONDON: with me after the revelation was made, he used
1824. to find, at extreme points in his life, the explanation
of himself in those early trials. He had derived great good from them, but not without alloy. The fixed and eager determination, the restless and resistless energy, which opened to him opportunities of escape from many mean environments, not by turning off from any path of duty, but by resolutely rising to such excellence or distinction as might be attainable in it, brought with it some disadvantage among many noble advantages. Of this he was himself aware, but not to the full extent. What it was that in society made him often uneasy, shrinking, and over-sensitive, he knew; but all the danger he ran in bearing down and over-mastering the feeling, he did not know. A too great confidence in himself, a sense that everything was possible to the will that would make it so, laid occasionally upon him self-imposed burdens greater than might be borne by any one with safety. In that direction there was in him, at such times, something even hard and aggressive; in his determinations a something that had almost the tone of fierceness; something in his nature that made his resolves insuperable, however hasty the opinions on which they had been formed. So rare were these manifestations,

**Effect in
later years.**

**Disadvan-
tage.**

LONDON:
1864-6.

however, and so little did they prejudice a character as entirely open and generous as it was at all times ardent and impetuous, that only very infrequently, towards the close of the middle term of a friendship which lasted without the interruption of a day for more than three and thirty years were they ever unfavourably presented to me. But there they were; and when I have seen strangely present, at such chance intervals, a stern and even cold isolation of self-reliance side by side with a susceptibility almost feminine and the most eager craving for sympathy, it has seemed to me as though his habitual impulses for everything kind and gentle had sunk, for the time, under a sudden hard and inexorable sense of what fate had dealt to him in those early years. On more than one occasion indeed I had confirmation of this. "I must entreat you," he wrote to me in June 1862, "to pause for an instant, "and go back to what you know of my childish "days, and to ask yourself whether it is natural "that something of the character formed in me "then, and lost under happier circumstances, should "have reappeared in the last five years. The "never to be forgotten misery of that old time, "bred a certain shrinking sensitiveness in a certain "ill-clad ill-fed child, that I have found come

C. D. to
J. F.
(1862.)

LONDON: "back in the never to be forgotten misery of this
1824-6. "later time."

Advantages. One good there was, however, altogether without drawback, and which claims simply to be mentioned before my narrative is resumed. The story of his childish misery has itself sufficiently shown that he never throughout it lost his precious gift of animal spirits, or his native capacity for humorous enjoyment; and there were positive gains to him from what he underwent, which were also rich and lasting. To what in the outset of his difficulties and trials gave the decisive bent to his genius, I have already made special reference; and we are to observe, of what followed, that with the very poor and unprosperous, out of whose sufferings and strugglings, and the virtues as well as vices born of them, his not least splendid successes were wrought, his childish experiences had made him actually one. They were not his clients whose cause he pleaded with such pathos and humour, and on whose side he got the laughter and tears of all the world, but in some sort his very self. Nor was it a small part of this manifest advantage that he should have obtained his experience as a child and not as a man; that only the good part, the flower and fruit of it, was plucked by him; and that nothing of the evil

part, none of the earth in which the seed was planted, remained to soil him.

His next move in life can also be given in his ^{Next move in life.} *London: 1824-6.*

C. D. log.

"There was a school in the Hampstead-road kept by Mr. Jones, a Welshman, to "which my father dispatched me to ask for a card "of terms. The boys were at dinner, and Mr. "Jones was carving for them with a pair of holland "sleeves on, when I acquitted myself of this com- "mission. He came out, and gave me what I "wanted; and hoped I should become a pupil. I "did. At seven o'clock one morning, very soon "afterwards, I went as day scholar to Mr. Jones's "establishment, which was in Mornington-place, "and had its school-room sliced away by the "Birmingham-railway, when that change came "about. The school-room however was not "threatened by directors or civil engineers then, "and there was a board over the door graced "with the words WELLINGTON HOUSE ACADEMY."

At Wellington-house academy he remained ^{Welling-}
_{ton-house}
nearly two years, being a little over fourteen years _{Academy.} years of age when he quitted it. In his minor writings as well as in *Copperfield* will be found general allusions to it, and there is a paper among his pieces reprinted from *Household Words* which purports specifically to describe it. To the account

LONDON:
1824-6.

Wellings-
ton-house
academy.

therein given of himself when he went to the school, as advanced enough, so safely had his memory retained its poor fragments of early schooling, to be put into *Virgil*, as getting sundry prizes, and as attaining to the eminent position of its first boy, one of his two schoolfellows with whom I have had communication, makes objection; but both admit that the general features of the place are reproduced with wonderful accuracy, and more especially in those points for which the school appears to have been much more notable than for anything connected with the scholarship of its pupils.

Described
by C. D.

In the reprinted piece Dickens describes it as remarkable for white mice. He says that red-polls, linnets, and even canaries, were kept by the boys in desks, drawers, hat-boxes, and other strange refuges for birds; but that white mice were the favourite stock, and that the boys trained the mice much better than the master trained the boys. He recalled in particular one white mouse who lived in the cover of a Latin dictionary, ran up ladders, drew Roman chariots, shouldered muskets, turned wheels, and even made a very creditable appearance on the stage as the Dog of Montargis, who might have achieved greater things but for having had the misfortune to mis-

take his way in a triumphal procession to the Capitol, when he fell into a deep inkstand, and was dyed black and drowned.

LONDON:
1824-6.

Wellington-house
academy.

Nevertheless he mentions the school as one also of some celebrity in its neighbourhood, though nobody could have said why; and adds that among the boys the master was supposed to know nothing, and one of the ushers was supposed to know everything. "We are still inclined to think the first "named supposition perfectly correct. We went Revisited after five and twenty years. to look at the place only this last midsummer, "and found that the railway had cut it up, root "and branch. A great trunk line had swallowed "the playground, sliced away the school-room, and "pared off the corner of the house. Which, thus "curtailed of its proportions, presented itself in a "green stage of stucco, profile-wise towards the "road, like a forlorn flat-iron without a handle, "standing on end."

One who knew him in those early days, Mr. Letter from a school-fellow. Owen P. Thomas, thus writes to me (February 1871). "I had the honour of being Mr. Dickens's schoolfellow for about two years (1824—1826), both being day-scholars, at Mr. Jones's 'Classical and Commercial Academy,' as then inscribed in front of the house, and which was situated at the corner of Granby-street and the Hampstead-road. The house stands now in its original

LONDON: 1824-6.
Wellington-house academy.

"state, but the school and large playground behind disappeared on the formation of the London and North-western railway, which at this point runs in a slanting direction from Euston-square underneath the Hampstead-road. We were all companions and playmates when out of school, as well as fellow students therein." (Mr. Thomas includes in this remark the names of Henry Danson, now a physician in practice in London; of Daniel Tobin, whom I remember to have been frequently assisted by his old school-fellow in later years; and of Richard Bray.) "You will find a graphic sketch of the school by Mr. Dickens himself in *Household Words* of 11th October, 1851. The article is entitled Our School. "The names of course are feigned; but, allowing for slight colouring, the persons and incidents described are all true to life, and easily recognizable by any one who attended the school at the time. The Latin master was Mr. Manville, or Mandeville, who for many years was well known at the library of the British-museum. The academy, after the railroad overthrew it, was removed to another house in the neighbourhood, but Mr. Jones and two at least of his assistant masters have long ago departed this life."

Sketch
by C. D.

One of the latter was the usher believed to know everything, who was writing master, mathe-

matical master, English master, divided the little boys with the Latin master, made out the bills, <sup>LONDON:
1824-6.</sup> mended the pens, and always called at parents' houses to enquire after sick boys, because he had gentlemanly manners. This picture, my respondent recognized; as well as those of the fat little dancing master who taught them horn-pipes, of the Latin master who stuffed his ears with onions for his deafness, of the gruff serving-man who nursed the boys in scarlet fever, and of the principal himself who was always ruling ciphering books with a bloated mahogany ruler, smiting the palms of offenders with the same diabolical instrument, or viciously drawing a pair of pantaloons tight with one of his large hands and caning the wearer with the other.

"My recollection of Dickens whilst at school," Mr. Thomas continues, "is that of a healthy looking boy, small but well-built, with a more than usual flow of spirits, inducing to harmless fun, seldom or never I think to mischief, to which so many lads at that age are prone. I cannot recall anything that then indicated he would hereafter become a literary celebrity; but perhaps he was too young then. He usually held his head more erect than lads ordinarily do, and there was a general smartness about him. His week-day dress of jacket and trousers, I can clearly re-

LONDON:
1824-6.
Wellin-
ton-house
academy.

"member, was what is called pepper-and-salt; and instead of the frill that most boys of his age wore then, he had a turn-down collar, so that he looked less youthful in consequence. He invented what we termed a 'lingo,' produced by the addition of a few letters of the same sound to every word; and it was our ambition, walking and talking thus along the street, to be considered foreigners. As an alternate amusement the present writer well remembers extemporising tales of some sort, and reciting them offhand, with Dickens and Danson or Tobin walking on either side of him. I enclose you a copy of a note I received from him when he was between thirteen and fourteen years of age, perhaps one of the earliest productions of his pen. The Leg referred to was the Legend of something, a pamphlet romance I had lent him; the Clavis was of course the Latin school book so named."

Schoolboy's letter.

There is some underlying whim or fun in the "Leg" allusions which Mr. Thomas appears to have overlooked, and certainly fails to explain: but the note, which is here given in fac-simile, may be left to speak for itself; and in the signature the reader will be amused to see the first faint beginning of a flourish afterwards famous.

LONDON:
1834-6.

Wellington-house
academy.

(No date, but was written in
latter part of 1825.)

Tom/
I am quite
ashamed I have
not returned
your pen yet
it by Harry to
morn world
like to muchsee
me class you
shall have it
of a very
reduced price
Cheaper in
comparison
than a leg.
Yours &c
C Dickey.

C. D.'s
autograph
in boyhood.

The Life of Charles Dickens. I.

7

LONDON:
1824-6.

A meeting
after thirty
years.

Daniel
Tobin.

"After a lapse of years," Mr. Thomas continues, "I recognized the celebrated writer as 'the individual I had known so well as a boy, "from having preserved this note; and upon Mr. Dickens visiting Reading in December 1854 to "give one of his earliest readings for the benefit "of the literary institute, of which he had become "president on Mr. Justice Talfourd's death, I took "the opportunity of showing it to him, when he "was much diverted therewith. On the same "occasion we conversed about mutual school- "fellows, and among others Daniel Tobin was "referred to, whom I remembered to have been "Dickens's *most* intimate companion in the school "days (1824 to 1826). His reply was that Tobin "either was then, or had previously been, assisting "him in the capacity of amanuensis; but there is "a subsequent mystery about Tobin, in connection "with his friend and patron, which I have never "been able to comprehend; for I understood "shortly afterwards that there was entire separa- "tion between them, and it must have been an "offence of some gravity to have sundered an "acquaintance formed in early youth, and which "had endured, greatly to Tobin's advantage, so "long. He resided in our schooldays in one of "the now old and grimy-looking stone-fronted

"houses in George-street, Euston-road, a few doors from the Orange-tree tavern. It is the opinion of the other schoolfellow with whom we were intimate, Doctor Danson, that upon leaving school Mr. Dickens and Tobin entered the same solicitor's office, and this he thinks was either "in or near Lincoln's-inn-fields."

LONDON:
1824-6.

The offence of Tobin went no deeper than the having at last worn out even Dickens's patience and kindness. His applications for relief were so incessantly repeated, that to cut him and them adrift altogether was the only way of escape from what had become an intolerable nuisance. To Mr. Thomas's letter the reader will thank me for adding one not less interesting with which Dr. Henry Danson has favoured me. We have here, with the same fun and animal spirits, a little of the proneness to mischief which his other schoolfellow says he was free from; but the mischief is all of the harmless kind, and might perhaps have been better described as but part of an irrepressible vivacity.

What I remember
of Tobin.

"My impression is that I was a schoolfellow of Dickens for nearly two years: he left before me, I think at about 15 years of age. Mr. Jones's school, called the Wellington-academy, was in the Hampstead-road, at the north-east corner of

Letter from
another
school-
fellow.

LONDON:
1824-6.

Wellin-
ton-house
academy.

Chief em-
ployment
of chief
master.

C. D. in
the school.

"Granby-street. The school-house was afterwards removed for the London and Northwestern railway. It was considered at the time a very superior sort of school, one of the best indeed in that part of London; but it was most shamefully mismanaged, and the boys made but very little progress. The proprietor, Mr. Jones, was a Welshman; a most ignorant fellow, and a mere tyrant; whose chief employment was to scourge the boys. Dickens has given a very lively account of this place in his paper entitled Our School, but it is very mythical in many respects, and more especially in the compliment he pays in it to himself. I do not remember that Dickens distinguished himself in any way, or carried off any prizes. My belief is that he did not learn Greek or Latin there, and you will remember there is no allusion to the classics in any of his writings. He was a handsome, curly-headed lad, full of animation and animal spirits, and probably was connected with every mischievous prank in the school. I do not think he came in for any of Mr. Jones's scourging propensity: in fact, together with myself, he was only a day-pupil, and with these there was a wholesome fear of tales being carried home to the parents. His personal appearance at that time is vividly

“brought home to me in the portrait of him
 “taken a few years later by Mr. Lawrence. He <sup>LONDON:
1824-6.</sup>
 “resided with his friends, in a very small house
 “in a street leading out of Seymour-street, north
 “of Mr. Judkin’s chapel.

“Depend on it he was quite a self-made man,
 “and his wonderful knowledge and command of
 “the English language must have been acquired
 “by long and patient study after leaving his last
 “school.

“I have no recollection of the boy you name. C. D.’s
 “His chief associates were, I think, Tobin, Mr. ^{associates} and pursuits.
 “Thomas, Bray, and myself. The first-named
 “was his chief ally, and his acquaintance with
 “him appears to have continued many years
 “afterwards. At about that time Penny and
 “Saturday Magazines were published weekly,* and

* That is not an allusion to the well-known “Penny” and “Saturday” magazines, but to weekly periodicals of some years’ earlier date resembling them in form. One of them, I have since found from a later mention by Dickens himself, was presumably of a less wholesome and instructive character. “I used,” he says, “when I was at school, to take in the “*Terrific Register*, making myself unspeakably miserable, “and frightening my very wits out of my head, for the small “charge of a penny weekly; which, considering that there “was an illustration to every number in which there was al- “ways a pool of blood, and at least one body, was cheap.”

LONDON:
1824-6.

Wellington-house
academy.

Writing
tales and
getting up
plays.

Master
Beverley
paints
scenes.

"were greedily read by us. We kept bees, white mice, and other living things, clandestinely in our desks; and the mechanical arts were a good deal cultivated, in the shape of coach-building, and making pumps and boats, the motive power of which was the white mice.

"I think at that time Dickens took to writing small tales, and we had a sort of club for lending and circulating them. Dickens was also very strong in using a sort of lingo, which made us quite unintelligible to bystanders. We were very strong, too, in theatricals. We mounted small theatres, and got up very gorgeous scenery to illustrate the *Miller and his Men* and *Cherry and Fair Star*. I remember the present Mr. Beverley, the scene painter, assisted us in this. Dickens was always a leader at these plays, which were occasionally presented with much solemnity before an audience of boys, and in the presence of the ushers. My brother, assisted by Dickens, got up the *Miller and his Men*, in a very gorgeous form. Master Beverley constructed the mill for us in such a way that it could tumble to pieces with the assistance of crackers. At one representation the fireworks in the last scene, ending with the destruction of the mill, were so very real that the police inter-

"fered, and knocked violently at the doors. LONDON:
1824-6.
Welling-
ton-house
academy.
 "Dickens's after taste for theatricals might have
 "had its origin in these small affairs.

"I quite remember Dickens on one occasion Street-
acting.
 "heading us in Drummond-street in pretending
 "to be poor boys, and asking the passers-by for
 "charity—especially old ladies; one of whom told
 "us she 'had no money for beggar boys.' On
 "these adventures, when the old ladies were quite
 "staggered by the impudence of the demand,
 "Dickens would explode with laughter and take
 "to his heels.

"I met him ~~one~~ Sunday morning shortly after At church.
 "he left the school, and we very piously attended
 "the morning service at Seymour-street chapel.
 "I am sorry to say Master Dickens did not attend
 "in the slightest degree to the service, but incited
 "me to laughter by declaring his dinner was ready
 "and the potatoes would be spoiled, and in fact
 "behaved in such a manner that it was lucky for
 "us we were not ejected from the chapel.

"I heard of him some time after from Tobin,
 "whom I met carrying a foaming pot of London
 "particular in Lincoln's-inn-fields, and I then un-
 "derstood that Dickens was in the same or some
 "neighbouring office.

LONDON:
1824-6.

Close of
Dr. Danson's
letter.

School-
fellows
after 40
years.

"Many years elapsed after this before I became aware, from accidentally reading Our School, that the brilliant and now famous Dickens was my old schoolfellow. I didn't like "to intrude myself upon him; and it was not "until three or four years ago, when he presided "at the University-college dinner at Willis's-rooms, "and made a most brilliant and effective speech, "that I sent him a congratulatory note reminding "him of our former fellowship. To this he sent "me a kind note in reply, and which I value very "much. I send you copies of these."*

Dr. Danson
to C. D.

* The reader will probably think them worth subjoining. Dr. Danson wrote:—“April, 1864. DEAR SIR, On the recent occasion of the U. C. H. dinner, you would probably have been amused and somewhat surprised to learn that one of those whom you addressed had often accompanied you over that ‘field of forty footsteps’ to which you so aptly and amusingly alluded. It is now some years since I was accidentally reading a paper written by yourself in the *Household Words*, when I was first impressed with the idea that the writer described scenes and persons with which I was once familiar, and that he must necessarily be the veritable Charles Dickens of ‘our school’—the school of Jones! I did not then, however, like to intrude myself upon you, for I could hardly hope that you would retain any recollection of myself; indeed, it was only barely possible you should do so, however vividly *I* might recall you in many scenes of fun and frolic of my school days. I happened to

From Dickens himself I never heard much allusion to the school thus described: but I knew, that, besides being the subject dealt with in *Household Words*, it had supplied some of the

LONDON:
1826-7.

"be present at the dinner of Tuesday last (being interested as "an old student in the school of the hospital), and was seated "very near you; I was tempted during the evening to intro- "duce myself to you, but feared lest an explanation such as "this in a public room might attract attention and be dis- "agreeable to yourself. A man who has attained a position "and celebrity such as yours will probably have many early "associates and acquaintances claiming his notice. I beg of "you to believe that such is not my object, but that having "so recently met you I feel myself unable to repress the de- "sire to assure you that no one in the room could appreciate "the fame and rank you have so fairly won, or could wish "you more sincerely long life and happiness to enjoy them, "than, Dear Sir, your old school-fellow, HENRY DANSON."

To this Dickens replied : "GAD'S HILL PLACE, Thursday, C. D. to
"5th May, 1864. DEAR SIR, I should have assured you be-

Dr. Danson.

"fore now that the receipt of your letter gave me great plea- "sure, had I not been too much occupied to have leisure for "correspondence. I perfectly recollect your name as that of "an old school-fellow, and distinctly remember your appear- "ance and dress as a boy, and believe you had a brother who "was unfortunately drowned in the Serpentine. If you had "made yourself personally known to me at the dinner, I "should have been well pleased; though in that case I should "have lost your modest and manly letter. Faithfully yours,
"CHARLES DICKENS,"

LONDON:
1886-7.

Smallness
of the
world.

Daniel
Tobin and
C. D.

An early
friend.

lighter traits of Salem-house for *Copperfield*; and that to the fact of one of its tutors being afterwards engaged to teach a boy of Macready's, our common friend, Dickens used to point for one of the illustrations of his favorite theory as to the smallness of the world, and how things and persons apparently the most unlikely to meet were continually knocking up against each other. The employment as his amanuensis of his schoolfellow Tobin dates as early as his Doctors'-commons days, but both my correspondents are mistaken in the impression they appear to have received that Tobin had been previously his fellow-clerk in the same attorney's office. I had thought him more likely to have been accompanied there by another of his boyish acquaintances who became afterwards a solicitor, Mr. Mitton, not recollected by either of my correspondents in connection with the school, but whom I frequently met with him in later years, and for whom he had the regard arising out of such early associations. In this however I have since discovered my own mistake: the truth being that it was this gentleman's connection, not with the Wellington-academy, but with a school kept by Mr. Dawson in Hunter-street, Brunswick-square, where the brothers of Dickens were subsequently placed, which led to

their early knowledge of each other. I fancy that they were together also, for a short time, at Mr. Molloy's in New-square, Lincoln's-inn; but, whether or not this was so, Dickens certainly had not quitted school many months before his father had made sufficient interest with an attorney of Gray's-inn, Mr. Edward Blackmore, to obtain him regular employment in his office. In this capacity of clerk, our only trustworthy glimpse of him we owe to the last-named gentleman, who has described briefly, and I do not doubt authentically, the services so rendered by him to the law. It cannot be said that they were noteworthy, though it might be difficult to find a more distinguished person who has borne the title, unless we make exception for the very father of literature himself, whom Chaucer, with amusing illustration of the way in which words change their meanings, calls "that conceited clerke Homère."

LONDON:
1826-7.

In an at-
torney's
office.

"I was well acquainted," writes Mr. Edward Blackmore of Alresford, "with his parents, and, <sup>Described
by his
employer.</sup> being then in practice in Gray's-inn, they asked "me if I could find employment for him. He "was a bright, clever-looking youth, and I took "him as a clerk. He came to me in May 1827, "and left in November 1828; and I have now an "account-book which he used to keep of petty

LONDON: "disbursements in the office, in which he charged
1827-8.
In Mr. Black- himself with the modest salary first of thirteen
more's office. "shillings and sixpence, and afterwards of fifteen
"shillings a-week. Several incidents took place in
"the office of which he must have been a keen
"observer, as I recognized some of them in his
"*Pickwick* and *Nickleby*; and I am much mistaken
"if some of his characters had not their originals
"in persons I well remember. His taste for thea-
"tricals was much promoted by a fellow-clerk
"named Potter, since dead, with whom he chiefly
"associated. They took every opportunity, then
"unknown to me, of going together to a minor
"theatre, where (I afterwards heard) they not un-
"frequently engaged in parts. After he left me
"I saw him at times in the lord chancellor's court,
"taking notes of cases as a reporter. I then lost
"sight of him until his *Pickwick* made its ap-
"pearance." This letter indicates the position he
held at Mr. Blackmore's; and we have but to turn
to the passage in *Pickwick* which describes the
several grades of attorney's-clerk, to understand
His grade of
clerkship. it more clearly. He was very far below the ar-
ticled clerk, who has paid a premium and is
attorney in perspective. He was not so high as
the salaried clerk, with nearly the whole of his
weekly thirty-shillings spent on his personal plea-

sures. He was not even on a level with the middle-aged copying clerk, always needy and uniformly shabby. He was simply among, however his own nature may have lifted him above, the "office-lads in their first surtouts, who feel a be-
"fitting contempt for boys at day-schools, club as "they go home at night for saveloys and porter,
"and think there's nothing like life." Thus far, not more or less, had he now reached. He was one of the office-lads, and probably in his first surtout.

LONDON:
1828-30.
In Mr. Black-
more's office.

But, even thus, the process of education went self-teach-ing. on, defying what seemed to interrupt it; and in the amount of his present equipment for his needs of life, what he brought from the Wellington-house academy can have borne but the smallest proportion to his acquirement at Mr. Blackmore's. Yet to seek to identify, without help from himself, any passages in his books with those boyish law-experiences, would be idle and hopeless enough. In the earliest of his writings, and down to the very latest, he worked exhaustively the field which is opened by an attorney's office to a student of life and manners; but we have not now to deal with his numerous varieties of the *genus* clerk drawn thus for the amusement of others, but with the acquisitions which at present

LONDON: he was storing up for himself from the opportunities such offices opened to him. Nor would it be possible to have better illustrative comment, on all these years, than is furnished by his

**The father
on the son's
education.** father's reply to a friend it was now hoped to interest on his behalf, which more than once I have heard him whimsically, but good-humouredly, imitate. "Pray, Mr. Dickens, where was "your son educated?" "Why, indeed, Sir—ha! "ha!—he may be said to have educated himself!" Of the two kinds of education which Gibbon says that all men who rise above the common level receive; the first, that of his teachers, and the second, more personal and more important, *his own*; he had the advantage only of the last. It nevertheless sufficed for him.

**Another em-
ployment in
prospect.** Very nearly another eighteen months were now to be spent mainly in practical preparation for what he was, at this time, led finally to choose as an employment from which a fair income was certain with such talents as he possessed; his father already having taken to it, in these latter years, in aid of the family resources. In his father's house, which was at Hampstead through the first portion of the Mornington-street school time, then in the house out of Seymour-street mentioned by Dr. Danson, and afterwards, upon

the elder Dickens going into the gallery, in Bentinck-street, Manchester-square, Charles had continued to live; and, influenced doubtless by the example before him, he took sudden determination to qualify himself thoroughly for what his father was lately become, a newspaper parliamentary reporter. He set resolutely there-
studying shorthand.
fore to the study of short-hand; and, for the additional help of such general information about books as a fairly educated youth might be expected to have, as well as to satisfy some higher personal cravings, he became an assiduous attendant in the British-museum reading-room. He
In British museum reading room.
would frequently refer to these days as decidedly the usefulness to himself he had ever passed; and judging from the results they must have been so. No man who knew him in later years, and talked to him familiarly of books and things, would have suspected his education in boyhood, almost entirely self-acquired as it was, to have been so rambling or hap-hazard as I have here described it. The secret consisted in this, that, whatever for the time he had to do, he lifted himself, there and then, to the level of; and at no time disregarded the rules that guided the hero of his novel. "Whatever I have tried to do in life, I
"have tried with all my heart to do well. What

D. C.
for
C. D.

LONDON:
1828-30.

"I have devoted myself to, I have devoted myself to completely. Never to put one hand to anything on which I could throw my whole self, and never "to affect depreciation of my work, whatever it was, I find now to have been my golden rules."

Of the difficulties that beset his short-hand studies, as well as of what first turned his mind to them, he has told also something in *Copperfield*. He had heard that many men distinguished in various pursuits had begun life by reporting the debates in parliament, and he was not deterred by a friend's warning that the mere mechanical accomplishment for excellence in it might take a few years to master thoroughly: "a perfect and entire command of the mystery of short-hand writing and reading being about equal in difficulty to the mastery of six languages." Undaunted, he plunged into it, self-teaching in this as in graver things; and, having bought Mr. Gurney's half-guinea book, worked steadily his way through its distractions. "The changes that were rung upon dots, which in such a position meant such a thing, and in such another position something else entirely different; the wonderful vagaries that were played by circles; the unaccountable consequences that resulted from marks like flies' legs; the tremendous

Preparing
for the
gallery.

D. C.
for
C. D.

"effects of a curve in a wrong place; not only
"troubled my waking hours, but reappeared be-
"fore me in my sleep. When I had groped my
"way, blindly, through these difficulties, and had
"mastered the alphabet, there then appeared a
"procession of new horrors, called arbitrary char-
"acters; the most despotic characters I have ever
"known; who insisted, for instance, that a thing
"like the beginning of a cobweb meant expecta-
"tion, and that a pen-and-ink sky-rocket stood
"for disadvantageous. When I had fixed these
"wretches in my mind, I found that they had
"driven everything else out of it; then, beginning
"again, I forgot them; while I was picking them
"up, I dropped the other fragments of the system;
"in short, it was almost heart-breaking."

LONDON:
1838-30.

What it was that made it not quite heart-breaking to the hero of the fiction, its readers know; and something of the same kind was now to enter into the actual experience of its writer. First let me say, however, that after subduing to his wants in marvellously quick time this unruly and unaccommodating servant of stenography, what he most desired was still not open to him. "There never *was* such a short-hand writer," has been often said to me by Mr. Beard, the friend he first made in that line when he entered the

LONDON:
1828-90.

Reporting
in Doctors'-
commons.

A real Dora
in 1829.

The Dora
of 1829
reappears
in 1865.

gallery, and with whom to the close of his life he maintained the friendliest intercourse. But there was no opening for him in the gallery yet. He had to pass nearly two years as a reporter for one of the offices in Doctors'-commons, practising in this and the other law courts, before he became a sharer in parliamentary toils and triumphs; and what sustained his young hero through something of the same sort of trial, was also his own support. He, too, had his Dora, at apparently the same hopeless elevation; striven for as the one only thing to be attained, and even more unattainable, for neither did he succeed nor happily did she die; but the one idol, like the other, supplying a motive to exertion for the time, and otherwise opening out to the idolater, both in fact and fiction, a highly unsubstantial, happy, foolish time. I used to laugh and tell him I had no belief in any but the book Dora, until the incident of a sudden reappearance of the real one in his life, nearly six years after *Copperfield* was written, convinced me there had been a more actual foundation for those chapters of his book than I was ready to suppose. Still I would hardly admit it; and, that the matter could possibly affect him then, persisted in a stout refusal to believe. His reply (1855) throws a little light

on this juvenile part of his career, and I therefore venture to preserve it.

LONDON:
1828-30.

"I don't quite apprehend what you mean by
 "my overrating the strength of the feeling of five-
 "and-twenty years ago. If you mean of my own
 "feeling, and will only think what the desperate
 "intensity of my nature is, and that this began
 "when I was Charley's age; that it excluded
 "every other idea from my mind for four years,
 "at a time of life when four years are equal to
 "four times four; and that I went at it with a de- An incentive
 "termination to overcome all the difficulties,
 "which fairly lifted me up into that newspaper
 "life, and floated me away over a hundred men's
 "heads: then you are wrong, because nothing can
 "exaggerate that. I have positively stood amazed
 "at myself ever since!—And so I suffered, and so
 "worked, and so beat and hammered away at the
 "maddest romances that ever got into any boy's
 "head and stayed there, that to see the mere
 "cause of it all, now, loosens my hold upon my-
 "self. Without for a moment sincerely believing
 "that it would have been better if we had never
 "got separated, I cannot see the occasion of so
 "much emotion as I should see any one else.
 "No one can imagine in the most distant degree
 "what pain the recollection gave me in *Copper-*

C. D.
to
J. F. (1855).

to exertion.

C. D.
as to
D. C.

London: *field.* And, just as I can never open that book
1838-39. "as I open any other book, I cannot see the face
 "(even at four-and-forty), or hear the voice, with-
 "out going wandering away over the ashes of all
 "that youth and hope in the wildest manner." More and more plainly seen, however, in the light of four-and-forty, the romance glided visibly

A romance fading.

Dora of
Copperfield
 changed
 into Flora
 of *Little
 Dorrit*.

away, its work being fairly done; and, at the close of the month following that in which this letter was written, during which he had very quietly made a formal call with his wife at his youthful Dora's house, and contemplated with a calm equanimity, in the hall, her stuffed favourite Jip, he began the fiction in which there was a Flora to set against its predecessor's Dora, both derived from the same original. The fancy had a comic humour in it he found it impossible to resist, but it was kindly and pleasant to the last;*

C. D.

* I take other fanciful allusions to the lady from two of his occasional writings. The first from his visit to the city churches (written during the Dombey time, when he had to select a church for the marriage of Florence): "Its drowsy "cadence soon lulls the three old women asleep, and the un- "married tradesman sits looking out at window, and the mar- "ried tradesman sits looking at his wife's bonnet, and the "lovers sit looking at one another, so superlatively happy, "that I mind when I, turned of eighteen, went with my "Angelica to a city church on account of a shower (by this

and if the later picture showed him plenty to LONDON:
laugh at in this retrospect of his youth, there was 1828-30.
nothing he thought of more tenderly than the Ashes of
youth and
hope.
earlier, as long as he was conscious of anything.

"special coincidence that it was in Huggin-lane), and when C. D.
"I said to my Angelica, 'Let the blessed event, Angelica,
"occur at no altar but this!' and when my Angelica con-
"sented that it should occur at no other—which it certainly
"never did, for it never occurred anywhere. And O, Ange-
"lica, what has become of you, this present Sunday morn-
"ing when I can't attend to the sermon; and, more difficult
"question than that, what has become of Me as I was when
"I sat by your side!" The second, from his pleasant paper
on birthdays:—"I gave a party on the occasion. She was
"there. It is unnecessary to name Her, more particularly;
"She was older than I, and had pervaded every chink and
"crevice of my mind for three or four years. I had held
"volumes of Imaginary Conversations with her mother on
"the subject of our union, and I had written letters more in
"number than Horace Walpole's, to that discreet woman,
"soliciting her daughter's hand in marriage. I had never
"had the remotest intention of sending any of those letters;
"but to write them, and after a few days tear them up, had
"been a sublime occupation."

CHAPTER IV.

REPORTERS' GALLERY AND NEWSPAPER LITERATURE.

1831—1835.

LONDON:
1831-2.

Reporting
for the
True Sun.

DICKENS was nineteen years old when at last he entered the gallery. His father, with whom he still lived in Bentinck-street, had already, as we have seen, joined the gallery as a reporter for one of the morning papers, and was now in the more comfortable circumstances derived from the addition to his official pension which this praiseworthy labour ensured; but his own engagement on the *Chronicle* dates somewhat later. His first parliamentary service was given to the *True Sun*, a journal which had then on its editorial staff some dear friends of mine, through whom I became myself a contributor to it, and afterwards, in common with all concerned, whether in its writing, reporting, printing, or publishing, a sharer in its difficulties. The most formidable of these arrived one day in a general strike of the reporters; and I well remember noticing at this

dread time, on the staircase of the magnificent mansion we were lodged in, a young man of my own age whose keen animation of look would have arrested attention anywhere, and whose name, upon enquiry, I then for the first time heard. It was coupled with the fact which gave it interest even then, that "young Dickens" had been spokesman for the recalcitrant reporters, and conducted their case triumphantly. He was afterwards during two sessions engaged for the *Mirror of Parliament*, which one of his uncles by the mother's side originated and conducted; and finally, in his twenty-third year, he became a reporter for the *Morning Chronicle*.

A step far more momentous to him (though then he did not know it) he had taken shortly before. In the December number for 1833 of what then was called the *Old Monthly Magazine*, his first published piece of writing had seen the light. He has described himself dropping this paper (Mr. Minns and his Cousin, as he afterwards entitled it, but which appeared in the magazine as A Dinner at Poplar Walk) stealthily one evening at twilight, with fear and trembling, into a dark letter-box in a dark office up a dark court in Fleet-street; and he has told his agitation when it appeared in all the glory of print. "On which

LONDON:
1832-4.
C. D. first
seen by me.

Reporting
for *Mirror* and
Chronicle.

1833-5.

First pub-
lished piece.

LONDON: "occasion I walked down to Westminster-hall, and
1832-4. "turned into it for half an hour, because my eyes
 "were so dimmed with joy and pride, that they
 "could not bear the street, and were not fit to be
 "seen there." He had purchased the magazine at
 a shop in the Strand; and exactly two years after-
 wards, in the younger member of a publishing
 firm who had called, at the chambers in Furnival's-
 inn to which he had moved soon after entering
 the gallery, with the proposal that originated *Pick-
 wick*, he recognized the person he had bought
 that magazine from, and whom before or since he
 had never seen.

**Discipline
 of reporting
 days.**

This interval of two years more than comprised what remained of his career in the gallery and the engagements connected with it; but that this occupation was of the utmost importance in its influence on his life, in the discipline of his powers as well as of his character, there can be no doubt whatever. "To the wholesome training of severe "newspaper work, when I was a very young man, "I constantly refer my first successes," he said to the New York editors when he last took leave of them. It opened to him a wide and varied range of experience, which his wonderful observation, exact as it was humorous, made entirely his own. He saw the last of the old coaching days, and of

the old inns that were a part of them; but it will be long before the readers of his living page see the last of the life of either. "There never was," he once wrote to me (in 1845), "anybody connected with newspapers, who, in the same space of time, had so much express and post-chaise experience as I. And what gentlemen they were to serve, in such things, at the old *Morning Chronicle!* Great or small it did not matter. I have had to charge for half-a-dozen break-downs in half-a-dozen times as many miles. I have had to charge for the damage of a great-coat from the drippings of a blazing wax-candle, in writing through the smallest hours of the night in a swift-flying carriage and pair. I have had to charge for all sorts of breakages fifty times in a journey without question, such being the ordinary results of the pace which we went at. I have charged for broken hats, broken luggage, broken chaises, broken harness—everything but a broken head, which is the only thing they would have grumbled to pay for."

Something to the same effect he said publicly twenty years later, on the occasion of his presiding, in May 1865, at the second annual dinner of the newspaper-press-fund, when he condensed within the compass of his speech a summary of

LONDON:
1884-6.

C. D.

^{to}
J. F. (1845).

Experiences
at *Morning
Chronicle.*

His own
sketch of
life as a
reporter.

LONDON: 1834-6. the whole of his reporting life. "I am not here," he said, "advocating the case of a mere ordinary client of whom I have little or no knowledge. I hold a brief to-night for my brothers. I went into the gallery of the house of commons as a parliamentary reporter when I was a boy, and I left it—I can hardly believe the inexorable truth —nigh thirty years ago. I have pursued the calling of a reporter under circumstances of which many of my brethren here can form no adequate conception. I have often transcribed for the printer, from my shorthand notes, important public speeches in which the strictest accuracy Expresses. was required, and a mistake in which would have been to a young man severely compromising, writing on the palm of my hand, by the light of a dark lantern, in a post-chaise and four, galloping through a wild country, and through the dead of the night, at the then surprising rate of fifteen miles an hour. The very last time I was at Exeter, I strolled into the castle-yard there to identify, for the amusement of a friend, the spot on which I once 'took,' as we used to call it, an election speech of Lord John Russell at the Devon contest, in the midst of a lively fight maintained by all the vagabonds in that division of the county, and under such a

"pelting rain, that I remember two good-natured
"colleagues, who chanced to be at leisure, held a
"pocket-handkerchief over my note-book, after the
"manner of a state canopy in an ecclesiastical
"procession. I have worn my knees by writing
"on them on the old back row of the old gallery
"of the old house of commons; and I have worn
"my feet by standing to write in a preposterous
"pen in the old house of lords, where we used to
"be huddled together like so many sheep—kept
"in waiting, say, until the woolsack might want
"re-stuffing. Returning home from exciting po-
"litical meetings in the country to the waiting
"press in London, I do verily believe I have been
"upset in almost every description of vehicle known
"in this country. I have been, in my time, be-
"lated on miry by-roads, towards the small hours,
"forty or fifty miles from London, in a wheelless
"carriage, with exhausted horses and drunken
"post-boys, and have got back in time for publi-
"cation, to be received with never-forgotten com-
"pliments by the late Mr. Black, coming in the
"broadest of Scotch from the broadest of hearts
"I ever knew. These trivial things I mention as
"an assurance to you that I never have forgotten
"the fascination of that old pursuit. The pleasure
"that I used to feel in the rapidity and dexterity

LONDON:
1834-6.

Houses of
parliament
before Barry.

A reporter's
vicissitudes.

John Black
of the
Chronicle.

LONDON: "of its exercise has never faded out of my breast.
1834-6." "Whatever little cunning of hand or head I took
"to it, or acquired in it, I have so retained as
"that I fully believe I could resume it to-morrow,
"very little the worse from long disuse. To this
"present year of my life, when I sit in this hall,
"or where not, hearing a dull speech (the phe-
"nomenon does occur), I sometimes beguile the
"tedium of the moment by mentally following the
Imaginary note-taking. "speaker in the old, old way; and sometimes, if
"you can believe me, I even find my hand going
"on the table-cloth, taking an imaginary note of
"it all." The latter I have known him do fre-
quently. It was indeed a quite ordinary habit
with him.

Mr. James
Grant's
recollec-
tions of
C. D.

Mr. James Grant, a writer who was himself in
the gallery with Dickens, and who states that
among its eighty or ninety reporters he occupied
the very highest rank, not merely for accuracy in
reporting but for marvellous quickness in tran-
scribing, has lately also told us that while there
he was exceedingly reserved in his manners, and
that, though showing the usual courtesies to all
he was concerned with in his duties, the only
personal intimacy he formed was with Mr. Tho-
mas Beard, then too reporting for the *Morning
Chronicle*. I have already mentioned the friendly

Mr. Thomas
Beard.

LONDON:
1834-6.

and familiar relations maintained with this gentleman to the close of his life; and in confirmation of Mr. Grant's statement I can further say that the only other associate of these early reporting days, to whom I ever heard him refer with special regard, was the late Mr. Vincent Dowling, many years editor of *Bell's Life*, with whom he did not continue much personal intercourse, but of whose character as well as talents he had formed a very high opinion. Nor is there anything to add to the notice of these days which the reader's fancy may not easily supply. A letter has been kept as written by him while engaged on one of his "expresses;" but it is less for its saying anything new, than for its confirming with a pleasant vividness what has been said already, that its contents will justify mention here.

He writes, on a "Tuesday morning" in May ^{An express expedition.} 1835, from the Bush-inn, Bristol; the occasion that has taken him to the west, connected with a reporting party, being Lord John Russell's Devonshire contest above-named, and his associate-chief being Mr. Beard, entrusted with command for the *Chronicle* in this particular express. He expects to forward "the conclusion of Russell's dinner" by Cooper's company's coach leaving the Bush at half-past six next morning; and by the first Ball's

BRISTOL: coach on Thursday morning he will forward the report of the Bath dinner, indorsing the parcel for immediate delivery, with extra rewards for the porter. Beard is to go over to Bath next morning. He is himself to come back by the mail from Marlborough; he has no doubt, if Lord John makes a speech of any ordinary dimensions, it can be done by the time Marlborough is reached; "and taking into consideration the immense importance of having the addition of saddle horses "from thence, it is, beyond all doubt, worth an "effort. . . . I need not say," he continues, "that

Sharp work. "it will be sharp work and will require two of us; "for we shall both be up the whole of the previous "night, and shall have to sit up all night again to "get it off in time." He adds that as soon as they have had a little sleep they will return to town as quickly as they can: but they have, if the express succeeds, to stop at sundry places along the road to pay money and notify satisfaction. And so, for himself and Beard, he is his editor's very sincerely.

**C. D. and
Mr. Stanley.**

Another anecdote of these reporting days, with its sequel, may be added from his own alleged relation, in which however mistakes occur that it seems strange he should have made. The story, as told, is that the late Lord Derby, when Mr.

Stanley, had on some important occasion made a speech which all the reporters found it necessary greatly to abridge; that its essential points had nevertheless been so well given in the *Chronicle* that Mr. Stanley, having need of it for himself in greater detail, had sent a request to the reporter to meet him in Carlton-house-terrace and take down the entire speech; that Dickens attended and did the work accordingly, much to Mr. Stanley's satisfaction; and that, on his dining with Mr. Gladstone in recent years, and finding the aspect of the dining-room strangely familiar, he discovered afterwards on enquiry that it was there he had taken the speech. The story, as it actually occurred, is connected with the brief life of the *Mirror of Parliament*. It was not at any special desire of Mr. Stanley's, but for that new record of the debates, which had been started by one of the uncles of Dickens and professed to excel *Hansard* in giving verbatim reports, that the famous speech against O'Connell was taken as described. The young reporter went to the room in Carlton-terrace because the work of his uncle Barrow's publication required to be done there; and if, in later years, the great author was in the same room as the guest of the prime minister, it must have been but a month or two

LONDON:
1834-6.

Stanley's
speech
against
O'Connell.

Re-reported
for the *Mirror*
of Parliament.

LONDON:
1835-6.

before he died, when for the first time he visited and breakfasted with Mr. Gladstone.

The mention of his career in the gallery may close with the incident. I will only add that his observation while there had not led him to form any high opinion of the house of commons or its heroes; and that, of the *Pickwickian* sense which so often takes the place of common sense in our legislature, he omitted no opportunity of declaring his contempt at every part of his life.

Nine
sketches
in the
Monthly.

Origin of
'Boz.'

The other occupation had meanwhile not been lost sight of, and for this we are to go back a little. Since the first sketch appeared in the *Monthly Magazine*, nine others have enlivened the pages of later numbers of the same magazine, the last in February 1835, and that which appeared in the preceding August having first had the signature of Boz. This was the nickname of a pet child, his youngest brother Augustus, whom in honour of the *Vicar of Wakefield* he had dubbed Moses, which being facetiously pronounced through the nose became Boses, and being shortened became Boz. "Boz was a very familiar household word to me, long before I "was an author, and so I came to adopt it." Thus had he fully invented his Sketches by Boz before they were even so called, or any one was ready

to give much attention to them; and the next invention needful to himself was some kind of payment in return for them. The magazine was owned as well as conducted at this time by a Mr. Holland, who had come back from Bolivar's South American campaigns with the rank of captain, and had hoped to make it a popular mouth-piece for his ardent liberalism. But this hope, as well as his own health, quite failed; and he had sorrowfully to decline receiving any more of the sketches when they had to cease as voluntary offerings. I do not think that either he or the magazine lived many weeks after an evening I passed with him in Doughty-street in 1837, when he spoke in a very touching way of the failure of this and other enterprises of his life, and of the help that Dickens had been to him.

LONDON:
1835.

Captain
Holland.

Nothing thus being forthcoming from the *Monthly*, it was of course but natural the sketches too should cease to be forthcoming; and, even before the above-named February number appeared, a new opening had been found for them. An evening off-shoot to the *Morning Chronicle* had been lately in hand; and to a countryman of Black's engaged in the preparations for it, Mr. George Hogarth, Dickens was communicating from his rooms in Furnival's-inn, on the evening

Mr. George
Hogarth.

LONDON:
1835-6.

of Tuesday the 20th of January 1835, certain hopes and fancies he had formed. This was the beginning of his knowledge of an accomplished and kindly man, with whose family his relations were soon to become so intimate as to have an influence on all his future career. Mr. Hogarth had asked him, as a favour to himself, to write an original sketch for the first number of the enterprise, and in writing back to say with what readiness he should comply, and how anxiously he should desire to do his best for the person who had made the request, he mentioned what had arisen in his mind. It had occurred to him that he might not be unreasonably or improperly trespassing farther on Mr. Hogarth, if, trusting to his kindness to refer the application to the proper quarter, he begged to ask whether it was probable, if he commenced a regular series of articles under some attractive title for the *Evening Chronicle*, its conductors would think he had any claim to *some* additional remuneration (of course, of no great amount) for doing so. In short, he wished to put it to the proprietors—first, whether a continuation of some chapters of light papers in the style of his street-sketches would be considered of use to the new journal; and secondly, if so, whether they would not think it fair and reason-

Sketches
continued
in *Evening
Chronicle*.

LONDON:
1835-6.

Salary
raised.

able that, taking his share of the ordinary reporting business of the *Chronicle* besides, he should receive something for the papers beyond his ordinary salary as a reporter? The request was thought fair, he began the sketches, and his salary was raised from five to seven guineas a week.

They went on, with undiminished spirit and freshness, throughout the year; and much as they were talked of outside as well as in the world of newspapers, nothing in connection with them delighted the writer half so much as the hearty praise of his own editor. Mr. Black is one of ^{Mr. John Black.} the men who have passed without recognition out of a world their labours largely benefited, but with those who knew him no man was so popular, as well for his broad kindly humour, as for his honest great-hearted enjoyment of whatever was excellent in others. Dickens to the last remembered, that it was most of all the cordial help of this good old mirth-loving man, which had started him joyfully on his career of letters. It was John Black that flung the slipper after me, he would often say. "Dear old Black! my first hearty out-^{Black's timely help.} ‘and-out appreciator,’ is an expression in one of his letters written to me in the year he died.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST BOOK AND ORIGIN OF PICKWICK.

1836.

LONDON: THE opening of 1836 found him collecting
1836.
First series
of Sketches. into two volumes the first series of *Sketches by Boz*, of which he had sold the copyright for a conditional payment of (I think) a hundred and fifty pounds to a young publisher named Macrone, whose acquaintance he had made through Mr. Ainsworth a few weeks before.* At this time

Fancy-
piece by
Mr. Willis:

* To this date belongs a visit paid him at Furnival's-inn in Mr. Macrone's company, by the notorious Mr. N. P. Willis, who calls him "a young paragraphist for the *Morning Chronicle*," and thus sketches his residence and himself. "In the most crowded part of Holborn, within a door or two "of the Bull-and-mouth inn, we pulled up at the entrance of "a large building used for lawyers' chambers. I followed by "a long flight of stairs to an upper storey, and was ushered "into an uncarpeted and bleak-looking room, with a deal "table, two or three chairs and a few books, a small boy and "Mr. Dickens, for the contents. I was only struck at first "with one thing (and I made a memorandum of it that eve-

LONDON:
1836.

also, we are told in a letter before quoted, the editorship of the *Monthly Magazine* having come into Mr. James Grant's hands, this gentleman, applying to him through its previous editor to know if he would again contribute to it, learnt two things: the first that he was going to be married, and the second that having entered into an arrangement to write a monthly serial, his duties in future would leave him small spare time. Both pieces of news were soon confirmed. The *Times* of the 26th of March, 1836, gave notice that on

"ning as the strongest instance I had seen of English obsequiousness to employers), the degree to which the poor author was overpowered with the honour of his publisher's visit! I remember saying to myself, as I sat down on a ricketty chair, 'My good fellow, if you were in America with that fine face and your ready quill, you would have no need to be condescended to by a publisher.' Dickens was dressed very much as he has since described Dick Swiveller, *minus* the swell look. His hair was cropped close ^{a poor} to his head, his clothes scant, though jauntily cut, and after ^{English} author. changing a ragged office-coat for a shabby blue, he stood by the door, collarless and buttoned up, the very personification, I thought, of a close sailor to the wind." I remember, while my friend lived, our laughing heartily at this description, hardly a word of which is true; and I give it now as no unfair specimen of the kind of garbage that since his death also has been served up only too plentifully, by some of his own as well as by others of Mr. Willis's countrymen.

LONDON: the 31st would be published the first shilling number
1836.
First number of Pickwick. of the *Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*,
edited by Boz; and the same journal of a few days later announced that on the 2nd of April Mr. Charles Dickens had married Catherine, the eldest daughter of Mr. George Hogarth, whom already we have met as his fellow-worker on the *Chronicle*.

Marriage of Dickens The honeymoon was passed in the neighbourhood to which at all times of interest in his life he turned with a strange recurring fondness; and while the young couple are at the quiet little village of Chalk, on the road between Gravesend and Rochester, I will relate exactly the origin of the ever-memorable Mr. Pickwick.

Overtures from Chapman and Hall.

A young publishing house had started recently, among other enterprises ingenious rather than important, a Library of Fiction; among the authors they wished to enlist in it was the writer of the sketches in the *Monthly*; and, to the extent of one paper during the past year, they had effected this through their editor, Mr. Charles Whitehead, a very ingenious and very unfortunate man. "I was not aware," wrote the elder member of the firm to Dickens, thirteen years later, in a letter to which reference was made*

* Not quoted in detail, on that or any other occasion; though referred to. It was however placed in my hands, for

in the preface to *Pickwick* in one of his later editions, "that you were writing in the *Chronicle*, ——————
"or what your name was; but Whitehead, who
"was an old *Monthly* man, recollects it, and got
"you to write The Tuggs's at Ramsgate."

LONDON:
1836.

And now comes another person on the scene. Mr. Seymour and his *Squib Annual*.
"In November 1835," continues Mr. Chapman,
"we published a little book called the *Squib An-*
"nual, with plates by Seymour; and it was during
"my visit to him to see after them, that he said
"he should like to do a series of cockney-sporting
"plates of a superior sort to those he had already
"published. I said I thought they might do, if
"accompanied by letter-press and published in
"monthly parts; and this being agreed to, we
"wrote to the author of *Three Courses and a Des-*
"sert, and proposed it; but receiving no answer
"the scheme dropped for some months, till Sey-

use if occasion should arise, when Dickens went to America in 1867. The letter bears date the 7th July, 1849, and was Mr. Chapman's answer to the question Dickens had asked him, whether the account of the origin of *Pickwick* which he had given in the preface to the cheap edition in 1847 was not strictly correct? "It is *so* correctly described," was Mr. Chapman's opening remark, "that I can throw but little ad- Mr. Pickwick of Bath.
"ditional light on it." The name of his hero, I may add, Dickens took from that of a celebrated coach-proprietor of Bath.

London:
1836: "mour said he wished us to decide, as another job
"had offered which would fully occupy his time;
"and it was on this we decided to ask you to do
"it. Having opened already a connection with
"you for our Library of Fiction, we naturally
"applied to you to do the *Pickwick*; but I do not
"think we even mentioned our intention to Mr.
"Seymour, and I am quite sure that from the be-
"ginning to the end nobody but yourself had any-
"thing whatever to do with it. Our prospectus
"was out at the end of February, and it had all
"been arranged before that date."

Origin of
Pickwick.
Mr. Hall at
Furnival's-
inn.

C. D. log.

What was
proposed by
others.

The member of the firm who carried the application to him in Furnival's-inn, was not the writer of this letter, but Mr. Hall, who had sold him two years before, not knowing that he was the purchaser, the magazine in which his first effusion was printed; and he has himself described what passed at the interview. "The idea pro-
"pounded to me was that the monthly something
"should be a vehicle for certain plates to be exe-
"cuted by Mr. Seymour; and there was a notion,
"either on the part of that admirable humorous
"artist, or of my visitor, that a NIMROD CLUB, the
"members of which were to go out shooting, fish-
"ing, and so forth, and getting themselves into
"difficulties through their want of dexterity, would

"be the best means of introducing these. I objected, on consideration, that although born and partly bred in the country I was no great sportsman, except in regard to all kinds of locomotion; that the idea was not novel, and had already been much used; that it would be infinitely better for the plates to arise naturally out of the text: and that I would like to take my own way, with a freer range of English scenes and people, and was afraid I should ultimately do so in any case, whatever course I might prescribe to myself at starting. My views being deferred to, I thought of Mr. Pickwick, and wrote the first number; from the proof sheets of which Mr. Seymour made his drawing of the club and his happy portrait of its founder. I connected Mr. Pickwick with a club, because of the original suggestion; and I put in Mr. Winkle expressly for the use of Mr. Seymour."

Mr. Hall was dead when this statement was first made, in the preface to the cheap edition in 1847; but Mr. Chapman clearly recollects his partner's account of the interview, and confirmed every part of it, in his letter of 1849, * with one

LONDON:
1836.
C. D. Log.

What was
substituted
by himself.

* The appeal was then made to him because of recent ^{False claims} foolish statements by members of Mr. Seymour's family, which ^{put forward.} Dickens thus contradicted: "It is with great unwillingness

Mr. Chapman's confirmation
(1849).

LONDON:
1836.

exception. In giving Mr. Seymour credit for the figure by which all the habitable globe knows Mr. Pickwick, and which certainly at the outset

"that I notice some intangible and incoherent assertions
"which have been made, professedly on behalf of Mr. Sey-
"mour, to the effect that he had some share in the invention
"of this book, or of anything in it, not faithfully described
"in the foregoing paragraph. With the moderation that is
"due equally to my respect for the memory of a brother-
"artist, and to my self-respect, I confine myself to placing

C. D.'s refu- "on record here the facts—That, Mr. Seymour never ori-
tation. "nated or suggested an incident, a phrase, or a word, to be
"found in this book. That, Mr. Seymour died when only
"twenty-four pages of this book were published, and when
"assuredly not forty-eight were written. That, I believe I
"never saw Mr. Seymour's hand-writing in my life. That,
"I never saw Mr. Seymour but once in my life, and that
"was on the night but one before his death, when he cer-
"tainly offered no suggestion whatsoever. That I saw him
"then in the presence of two persons, both living, perfectly
"acquainted with all these facts, and whose written testimony
"to them I possess. Lastly, that Mr. Edward Chapman (the
"survivor of the original firm of Chapman and Hall) has set
"down in writing, for similar preservation, his personal know-
"ledge of the origin and progress of this book, of the mon-
"strosity of the baseless assertions in question, and (tested by
"details) even of the self-evident impossibility of there being
"any truth in them." The "written testimony" alluded to
is also in my possession, having been enclosed to me by
Dickens, in 1867, with Mr. Chapman's letter here referred to.

helped to make him a reality, it had given the artist too much. The reader will hardly be so startled as I was on coming to the closing line of Mr. Chapman's confirmatory letter. "As this letter is to be historical, I may as well claim what little belongs to me in the matter, and that is the figure of Pickwick. Seymour's first sketch was of a long, thin man. The present immortal one he made from my description of a friend of mine at Richmond, a fat old beau who would wear, in spite of the ladies' protests, drab tights and black gaiters. His name was John Foster."

On the coincidences, resemblances, and surprises of life, Dickens liked especially to dwell, Surprises of life, and smallness of the world. and few things moved his fancy so pleasantly. The world, he would say, was so much smaller than we thought it; we were all so connected by fate without knowing it; people supposed to be far apart were so constantly elbowing each other; and to-morrow bore so close a resemblance to nothing half so much as to yesterday. Here were the only two leading incidents of his own life before I knew him, his marriage and the first appearance of his Pickwick; and it turned out after all that I had some shadowy association with both. He was married on the anniversary

LONDON:
1836.
The original
of Mr. Pick-
wick in
figure and
name.

LONDON: of my birthday, and the original of the figure of
1836. Mr. Pickwick bore my name.*

Publication
of the
Sketches.

The first number had not yet appeared when his *Sketches by Bos, Illustrative of Every-Day Life and Every-Day People*, came forth in two duodecimos with some capital cuts by Cruikshank, and with a preface in which he spoke of the nervousness he should have had in venturing alone before the public, and of his delight in getting the help of Cruikshank, who had frequently contributed to the success, though his well-earned reputation rendered it impossible for him ever to have shared the hazard, of similar undertakings. It very soon became apparent that there was no hazard here. The *Sketches* were much more talked about than the first two or three numbers of *Pickwick*, and I remember still with what hearty praise the book was first named to me by my dear friend Albany Fonblanque, as keen and clear a judge as ever lived either of books or men. Richly did it merit all the praise it had, and more, I will add,

* Whether Mr. Chapman spelt the name correctly, or has unconsciously deprived his fat beau of the letter, "r," I cannot say; but experience tells me that the latter is probable. I have been trying all my life to get my own name spelt correctly, and have only very imperfectly succeeded.

than he was ever disposed to give to it himself. He decidedly underrated it. He gave, in subsequent writings, so much more perfect form and fullness to everything it contained, that he did not care to credit himself with the marvel of having yet so early anticipated so much. But the first sprightly runnings of his genius are undoubtedly here. Mr. Bumble is in the parish sketches, and Mr. Dawkins the dodger in the Old-bailey scenes. There is laughter and fun to excess, never misapplied; there are the minute points and shades of character, with all the discrimination and nicety of detail, afterwards so famous; there is everywhere the most perfect ease and skill of handling. The observation shown throughout is nothing short of wonderful. Things are painted literally as they are; and, whatever the picture, whether of every-day vulgar, shabby genteel, or downright low, with neither the condescending air which is affectation, nor the too familiar one which is slang. The book altogether is a perfectly unaffected, unpretentious, honest performance. Under its manly sensible straightforward vein of talk, there is running at the same time a natural flow of sentiment never sentimental, of humour always easy and unforced, and of pathos for the most part dramatic or picturesque,

LONDON:
1836.

First
sprightly
runnings.

Its success
well merited.

LONDON:
1836.
*The Sketches
characterized.*

under which lay the germ of what his mature genius took afterwards most delight in. Of course there are inequalities in it, and some things that would have been better away: but it is a book that might have stood its ground, even if it had stood alone, as containing unusually truthful observation of a sort of life between the middle class and the low, which, having few attractions for bookish observers, was quite unhearkened ground. It had otherwise also the very special merit of being in no respect bookish or commonplace in its descriptions of the old city with which its writer was so familiar. It was a picture of every-day London at its best and worst, in its humours and enjoyments as well as its sufferings and sins, pervaded everywhere not only with the absolute reality of the things depicted, but also with that subtle sense and mastery of feeling which gives to the reader's sympathies invariably right direction, and awakens consideration, tenderness, and kindness precisely for those who most need such help.

Death of Mr. Seymour. Between the first and the second numbers of *Pickwick*, the artist, Mr. Seymour, died by his own hand; and the number came out with three instead of four illustrations. Dickens had seen the unhappy man only once, forty-eight hours before

his death; when he went to Furnival's-inn with an etching for the "stroller's-tale" in that number, which, altered at Dickens's suggestion, he brought away again for the few further touches that occupied him to a late hour of the night before he destroyed himself. A notice attached to the number informed the public of this latter fact. There was at first a little difficulty in replacing him, and for a single number Mr. Buss was interposed. But before the fourth number a choice had been made, which as time went on was so thoroughly justified, that through the greater part of the wonderful career which was then beginning the connection was kept up, and Mr. Hablot Browne's name is not unworthily associated with the masterpieces of Dickens's genius. An incident which I heard related by Mr. Thackeray at one of the royal-academy dinners belongs to this time. "I can remember when Mr. Dickens was a "very young man, and had commenced delighting "the world with some charming humorous works "in covers which were coloured light green and "came out once a month, that this young man "wanted an artist to illustrate his writings; and I "recollect walking up to his chambers in Furnival's-inn, with two or three drawings in my "hand, which, strange to say, he did not find

LONDON:
1836.

Mr. Buss
interposed

Mr. Hablot
Browne
chosen.

LONDON:
1836.

Changes in
the *Pickwick*
numbers.

"suitable." Dickens has himself described another change now made in the publication. "We started with a number of twenty-four pages and four illustrations. Mr. Seymour's sudden and lamented death before the second number was published, brought about a quick decision upon a point already in agitation; the number became one of thirty-two pages with only two illustrations, and remained so to the end."

Reporting
days close.

The Session of 1836 terminated his connection with the gallery, and some fruits of his increased leisure showed themselves before the close of the year. His eldest sister's musical attainments and connections had introduced him to many cultivators and professors of that art; he was led to take much interest in Mr. Braham's enterprise at the St. James's-theatre; and in aid of it he wrote a farce for Mr. Harley, founded upon one of his sketches, and the story and songs for an opera composed by his friend Mr. Hullah. Both the *Strange Gentleman*, acted in September, and the *Village Coquettes*, produced in December, 1836, had a good success; and the last is memorable to me for having brought me first into personal communication with Dickens.

Strange
Gentleman
and Village
Coquettes.

CHAPTER VI.

WRITING THE PICKWICK PAPERS.

1837.

THE first letter I had from him was at the close of 1836 from Furnival's-inn, when he sent me the book of his opera of the *Village Coquettes*, which had been published by Mr. Bentley; and this was followed, two months later, by his collected *Sketches*, both first and second series; which he desired me to receive "as a very small testimony of the donor's regard and obligations, "as well as of his desire to cultivate and avail "himself of a friendship which has been so pleasantly thrown in his way.... In short, if you "will receive them for my sake and not for their "own, you will very greatly oblige me." I had met him in the interval at the house of our common friend Mr. Ainsworth, and I remember vividly the impression then made upon me.

LONDON:
1837.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Very different was his face in those days from ^{As he was} _{86 years ago.} that which photography has made familiar to the

LONDON: present generation. A look of youthfulness first attracted you, and then a candour and openness of expression which made you sure of the qualities within. The features were very good. He had a capital forehead, a firm nose with full wide nostril, eyes wonderfully beaming with intellect and running over with humour and cheerfulness, and a rather prominent mouth strongly marked with sensibility. The head was altogether well-formed and symmetrical, and the air and carriage of it were extremely spirited. The hair so scant and grizzled in later days was then of a rich brown and most luxuriant abundance, and the bearded face of his last two decades had hardly a vestige of hair or whisker; but there was that in the face as I first recollect it which no time could change, and which remained implanted on it unalterably to the last. This was the quickness, keenness, and practical power, the eager, restless, energetic outlook on each several feature, that seemed to tell so little of a student or writer of books, and so much of a man of action and business in the world. Light and motion flashed from every part of it. *It was as if made of steel,* was said of it, four or five years after the time to which I am referring, by a most original and delicate observer, the late Mrs. Carlyle. "What a face is his

Remark of
Mrs. Carlyle.

"to meet in a drawing-room!" wrote Leigh Hunt LONDON:
1837. to me, the morning after I made them known to each other. "It has the life and soul in it of fifty human beings." In such sayings are expressed not alone the restless and resistless vivacity and force of which I have spoken, but that also which lay beneath them of steadiness and hard endurance.

Several unsuccessful efforts were made by each to get the other to his house before the door of either was opened at last. A son had been born Birth of his
eldest son. to him on twelfth-day (the 6th January 1837), and before the close of the following month he and his wife were in the lodgings at Chalk they had Chalk
Gravesend. occupied after their marriage. Early in March there is a letter from him accounting for the failure of a promise to call on me because of "a crew of house agents and attorneys" through whom he had nearly missed his conveyance to Chalk, and been made "more than half wild be-sides." This was his last letter from Furnival's-
Last letter
from Furni-
val's-inn. inn. In that same month he went to 48, Doughty-street; and in his first letter to me from that address, dated at the close of the month, there is this passage. "We only called upon you a second time in the hope of getting you to dine with us, and were much disappointed not to find you.

LONDON: "I have delayed writing a reply to your note,
1837.
First letter from Doughty-street." "meaning to call upon you. I have been so much
engaged, however, in the pleasant occupation of
"moving" that I have not had time; and I am
obliged at last to write and say that I have been
long engaged to the *Pickwick* publishers to a
dinner in honour of that hero which comes off
to-morrow. I am consequently unable to accept
your kind invite, which I frankly own I should
have liked much better."

C. D.
to
J. F.

- A long-re-
membered
sorrow.

That Saturday's celebration of his twelfth number, the anniversary of the birth of *Pickwick*, preceded by but a few weeks a personal sorrow which profoundly moved him. His wife's next younger sister, Mary, who lived with them, and by sweetness of nature even more than by graces of person had made herself the ideal of his life, died with a terrible suddenness that for the time completely bore him down.* His grief and suffering were intense, and affected him, as will be seen, through many after years. The publication of *Pickwick* was interrupted for two months, the effort of writing it not being possible to him. He

* Her epitaph, written by him, remains upon a gravestone in the cemetery at Kensal-green. "Young, beautiful, and good, God numbered her among his angels at the early age of seventeen."

moved for change of scene to Hampstead, and here, at the close of May, I visited him, and became first his guest. More than ordinarily susceptible at the moment to all kindliest impressions, his heart opened itself to mine. I left him as much his friend, and as entirely in his confidence, as if I had known him for years. Nor had many weeks passed before he addressed to me from Doughty-street words which it is my sorrowful pride to remember have had literal fulfilment. "I look back "with unmixed pleasure to every link which "each ensuing week has added to the chain of "our attachment. It shall go hard, I hope, ere "anything but Death impairs the toughness of a "bond now so firmly riveted." It remained un-weakened till death came.

C. D.
to
J. F.

There were circumstances that drew us at once into frequent and close communication. What the sudden popularity of his writings implied, was known to others some time before it was known to himself; and he was only now becoming gradually conscious of all the disadvantage this had placed him at. He would have laughed if, at this outset of his wonderful fortune in literature, his genius acknowledged by all without misgiving, young, popular, and prosperous, any one had compared him to the luckless men of letters

HAMPSTEAD:
1837.

visit him.

Hasty com-
pacts with
publishers.

LONDON: 1897.

Self-sold into bondage.

of former days, whose common fate was to be sold into a slavery which their later lives were passed in vain endeavours to escape from. Not so was his fate to be, yet something of it he was doomed to experience. He had unwittingly sold himself into a quasi-bondage, and had to purchase his liberty at a heavy cost, after considerable suffering.

Agreement for a monthly magazine.

Another for two novels.

It was not until the fourth or fifth number of *Pickwick* (in the latter Sam Weller made his first appearance) that its importance began to be understood by "the trade," and on the eve of the issue of its sixth number, the 22nd August 1836, he had signed an agreement with Mr. Bentley to undertake the editorship of a monthly magazine to be started the following January, to which he was to supply a serial story; and soon afterwards he had agreed with the same publisher to write two other tales, the first at a specified early date; the expressed remuneration in each case being certainly quite inadequate to the claims of a writer of any marked popularity. Under these Bentley agreements he was now writing, month by month, the first half of *Oliver Twist*, and, under his Chapman and Hall agreement, the last half of *Pickwick*, not even by a week in advance of the printer with either; when a circumstance

became known to him of which he thus wrote to me.

LONDON:
1837.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"I heard half-an-hour ago, on authority which "leaves me in no doubt about the matter (from "the binder of *Pickwick* in fact), that Macrone "intends publishing a new issue of my *Sketches* in "monthly parts of nearly the same size and in "just the same form as the *Pickwick Papers*. I "need not tell you that this is calculated to injure "me most seriously, or that I have a very natural "and most decided objection to being supposed "to presume upon the success of the *Pickwick*, "and thus foist this old work upon the public in A scheme to "its new dress for the mere purpose of putting re-issue *Sketches*. "money in my own pocket. Neither need I say "that the fact of my name being before the town, "attached to three publications at the same time, "must prove seriously prejudicial to my reputation. "As you are acquainted with the circumstances "under which these copyrights were disposed of, "and as I know I may rely on your kind help, "may I beg you to see Macrone, and to state in "the strongest and most emphatic manner my "feeling on this point. I wish him to be reminded "of the sums he paid for those books; of the sale "he has had for them; of the extent to which he "has already pushed them; and of the very great

LONDON: "profits he must necessarily have acquired from
1887.
C. D. "them. I wish him also to be reminded that no
to
J. F. "intention of publishing them in this form was in
"the remotest manner hinted to me, by him or on
"his behalf, when he obtained possession of the
"copyright. I then wish you to put it to his feel-
"ings of common honesty and fair-dealing whether
"after this communication he will persevere in
"his intention." What else the letter contained
need not be quoted, but it strongly moved me to
do my best.

Attempt to prevent this.

I found Mr. Macrone inaccessible to all arguments of persuasion however. That he had bought the book for a small sum at a time when the smallest was not unimportant to the writer, shortly before his marriage, and that he had since made very considerable profits by it, in no way disturbed his position that he had a right to make as much as he could of what was his, without regard to how it had become so. There was nothing for it but to change front, and, admitting it might be a less evil to the unlucky author to repurchase than to let the monthly issue proceed, to ask what further gain was looked for; but so wide a mouth was opened at this that I would have no part in the costly process of filling it. I told Dickens so, and strongly counselled him to keep quiet for a time.

LONDON:
1837.

But the worry and vexation were too great with all the work he had in hand, and I was hardly surprised next day to receive the letter sent me; which yet should be prefaced with the remark that suspense of any kind was at all times intolerable to the writer. The interval between the accomplishment of anything, and "its first "motion," Dickens never could endure, and he was too ready to make any sacrifice to abridge or end it. This did not belong to the strong side of his character, and advantage was frequently taken of the fact. "I sent down just now to know whether "you were at home (two o'clock), as Chapman "and Hall were with me, and, the case being "urgent, I wished to have the further benefit of "your kind advice and assistance. Macrone and "H—(arcades ambo) waited on them this morn—"ing, and after a long discussion peremptorily "refused to take one farthing less than the two "thousand pounds. H—repeated the statement "of figures which he made to you yesterday, and "put it to Hall whether he could say from his "knowledge of such matters that the estimate of "probable profit was exorbitant. Hall, whose "judgment may be relied on in such matters, could "not dispute the justice of the calculation. And "so the matter stood. In this dilemma it occurred

C. D.
to
J. F.

£2000 asked
for what
£150 had
purchased.

LONDON: "to them (my *Pickwick* men), whether, if the
1837.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"Sketches must appear in monthly numbers, it
"would not be better for them to appear for their
"benefit and mine conjointly, than for Macrone's
"sole use and behoof; whether they, having all
"the *Pickwick* machinery in full operation, could
"not obtain for them a much larger sale than
"Macrone could ever get; and whether, even at
"this large price of two thousand pounds, we
"might not, besides retaining the copyright, reason-
"ably hope for a good profit on the outlay. These
"suggestions having presented themselves, they
"came straight to me (having obtained a few

Chapman &
Hall advise
purchase.

"hours' respite) and proposed that we should
"purchase the copyrights between us for the two
"thousand pounds, and publish them in monthly
"parts. I need not say that no other form of
"publication would repay the expenditure; and
"they wish me to explain by an address that *they*,
"who may be fairly put forward as the parties,
"have been driven into that mode of publication,
"or the copyrights would have been lost. I con-
"sidered the matter in every possible way. I sent
"for you, but you were out. I thought of" . . .
what need not be repeated, now that all is past
and gone . . . "and consented. Was I right? I
"think you will say yes." I could not say no,

though I was glad to have been no party to a price so exorbitant; which yet profited extremely little the person who received it. He died in hardly more than two years; and if Dickens had enjoyed the most liberal treatment at his hands, he could not have exerted himself more generously for the widow and children.

His new story was now beginning largely to share attention with his *Pickwick Papers*, and it was delightful to see how real all its people became to him. What I had most indeed to notice in him, at the very outset of his career, was his indifference to any praise of his performances on the merely literary side, compared with the higher recognition of them as bits of actual life, with the meaning and purpose on their part, and the responsibility on his, of realities rather than creatures of fancy. The exception that might be drawn from *Pickwick* is rather in seeming than substance. A first book has its immunities, and the distinction of this from the rest of the writings appears in what has been said of its origin. The plan of it was simply to amuse. It was to string together whimsical sketches of the pencil by entertaining sketches of the pen; and, at its beginning, where or how it was to end was as little known to himself as to any of its readers. But genius is a

LONDON:
1837.

Close of
dealings with
Mr. Macrone.

Characters
real to him-
self.

Distinction
of *Pickwick*
from other
works.

LONDON:
1837.

master as well as a servant, and when the laughter and fun were at their highest something graver made its appearance. He had to defend himself for this; and he said that though the mere oddity of a new acquaintance was apt to impress one at first, the more serious qualities were discovered when we became friends with the man. In other words he might have said that the change was become necessary for his own satisfaction. The book itself, in teaching him what his power was, had made him more conscious of what would be expected from its use; and this never afterwards quitted him. In what he was to do hereafter, as in all he was doing now, with *Pickwick* still to finish and *Oliver* only beginning, it constantly attended him. Nor could it well be otherwise, with all those fanciful creations so real, to a nature in itself so practical and earnest; and in this spirit I had well understood the letter accompanying what had been published of *Oliver* since its commencement the preceding February, which reached me the day after I visited him. Something to the effect of what has just been said, I had remarked publicly of the portion of the story sent to me; and his instant warm-hearted acknowledgment, of which I permit myself to quote a line or two, showed me in what perfect agreement we were

Sense of re-
sponsibility
for his writ-
ings.

"How can I thank you? Can I do better than by saying that the sense of poor Oliver's reality, which I know you have had from the first, has been the highest of all praise to me. None that has been lavished upon me have I felt half so much as that appreciation of my intent and meaning. You know I have ever done so, for it was your feeling for me and mine for you that first brought us together, and I hope will keep us so, till death do us part. Your notices make me grateful but very proud; so have a care of them."

There was nothing written by him after this date which I did not see before the world did, Help given with his proofs. either in manuscript or proofs; and in connection with the latter I shortly began to give him the help which he publicly mentioned twenty years later in dedicating his collected writings to me. One of his letters reminds me when these corrections began, and they were continued very nearly to the last. They lightened for him a labour of which he had more than enough imposed upon him at this time by others, and they were never anything but an enjoyment to me. "I have," he wrote, "so many sheets of the *Miscellany* to correct before I can begin *Oliver*, that I fear I shall not be able to leave home this

LONDON:
1837.

C. D.
to
J. F.

C. D.
to
J. F.

LONDON: "morning. I therefore send your revise of the *Pickwick* by Fred, who is on his way with it to the printers. You will see that my alterations are very slight, but I think for the better." This was the fourteenth number of the *Pickwick Papers*. Fred was his next younger brother, who lived with him at the time.

Pickwick
No. XIV.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Writing
No. XV.

The number following this was the famous one in which the hero finds himself in the Fleet, and another of his letters will show what enjoyment the writing of it had given to himself. I had sent to ask him where we were to meet for a proposed ride that day. "HERE," was his reply. "I am slippered and jacketted, and, like that same starling who is so very seldom quoted, 'can't get out. I am getting on, thank Heaven, 'like 'a house o' fire,' and think the next *Pickwick* will bang all the others. I shall expect "you at one, and we will walk to the stable together. If you know anybody at Saint Paul's, "I wish you'd send round and ask them not to "ring the bell so. I can hardly hear my own "ideas as they come into my head, and say what "they mean."

The exulting tone of confidence in what he had thus been writing was indeed well justified. He had as yet done nothing so remarkable, in

blending humour with tragedy, as his picture of what the poor side of a debtors' prison was in the days of which we have seen that he had himself had bitter experience; and we have but to recall, as it rises sharply to the memory, what is contained in this portion of a work that was not only among his earliest but his least considered as to plan, to understand what it was that not alone had given him his fame so early, but that in itself held the germ of the future that awaited him. Every point was a telling one, and the truthfulness of the whole unerring. The dreadful restlessness of the place, undefined yet unceasing, unsatisfying and terrible, was pictured throughout with De Foe's minute reality; while points of character were handled in that greater style which connects with the richest oddities of humour an insight into principles of character universal as nature itself. When he resolved that Sam Weller should be occupant of the prison with Mr. Pickwick, he was perhaps thinking of his favourite Smollett, and how, when Peregrine Pickle was inmate of the Fleet, Hatchway and Pipes refused to leave him; but Fielding himself might have envied his way of setting about it. Nor is any portion of his picture less admirable than this. The comedy gradually deepening into tragedy;

LONDON:
1837.

The debtors'
prison in
Pickwick.

A recollection
of Smollett.

LONDON: the shabby vagabonds who are the growth of
1837. debtors' prisons, contrasting with the poor simple
Gaol scenes. creatures who are their sacrifices and victims; Mr. Mivins and Mr. Smangle side by side with the cobbler ruined by his legacy, who sleeps under the table to remind himself of his old four-poster; Mr. Pickwick's first night in the marshal's room, Sam Weller entertaining Stiggins in the snuggeries, Jingle in decline, and the chancery prisoner dying; in all these scenes there was writing of the first order, a deep feeling of character, that delicate form of humour which has a quaintly pathetic turn in it as well, comedy of the richest and broadest kind, and the easy handling throughout of a master in his art. We place the picture by the side of those of the great writers of this style of fiction in our language, and it does not fall by the comparison.

Reception of
Pickwick. Of what the reception of the book had been up to this time, and of the popularity Dickens had won as its author, this also will be the proper place to speak. For its kind, its extent, and the absence of everything unreal or factitious in the causes that contributed to it, it is unexampled in literature. Here was a series of sketches, without the pretence to such interest as attends a well-constructed story; put forth in a form apparently

ephemeral as its purpose; having none that seemed higher than to exhibit some studies of cockney manners with help from a comic artist; and after four or five parts had appeared, without newspaper notice or puffing, and itself not subserving in the public anything false or unworthy, it sprang into a popularity that each part carried higher and higher, until people at this time talked of nothing else, tradesmen recommended their goods by using its name, and its ^{A popular} sale, outstripping at a bound that of all the most famous books of the century, had reached to an almost fabulous number. Of part one, the binder prepared four hundred; and of part fifteen, his order was for more than forty thousand. Every class, the high equally with the low, were attracted to it. The charm of its gaiety and good humour, its inexhaustible fun, its riotous overflow of animal spirits, its brightness and keenness of observation, and above all, the incomparable ease of its many varieties of enjoyment, fascinated everybody. Judges on the bench and boys in the street, gravity and folly, the young and the old, those who were entering life and those who were quitting it, alike found it to be irresistible.

"An archdeacon," wrote Mr. Carlyle afterwards to Mr. Carlyle's
me, "with his own venerable lips, repeated to me, ^{'dreadful'} story.

LONDON: "the other night, a strange profane story: of a
1837. "solemn clergyman who had been administering
"ghostly consolation to a sick person; having
"finished, satisfactorily as he thought, and got
"out of the room, he heard the sick person ejau-
"culate: 'Well, thank God, *Pickwick* will be out
"in ten days any way!'—This is dreadful."

Let me add that there was something more in it all than the gratification of mere fun and laughter, more even than the rarer pleasure that underlies the outbreak of all forms of genuine humour. Another chord had been struck. Over and above the lively painting of manners which at first had been so attractive, there was something that left deeper mark. Genial and irrepressible enjoyment, affectionate heartiness of tone, unrestrained exuberance of mirth, these are not more delightful than they are fleeting and perishable qualities; but the attention eagerly excited by the charm of them in *Pickwick*, found itself retained by something more permanent. We had all become suddenly conscious, in the very thick of the extravaganza of adventure and fun set before us, that here were real people. It was not somebody talking humorously about them, but they were there themselves. That a number of persons belonging to the middle and lower ranks of life

One secret
of the
success.

— Reality of
characters.

(Wardles, Winkles, Wellers, Tupmans, Bardells, Snubbinses, Perkers, Bob Sawyers, Dodsons and Foggs,) had been somehow added to his intimate and familiar acquaintance, the ordinary reader knew before half a dozen numbers were out; and it took not many more to make clear to the intelligent reader, that a new and original genius in the walk of Smollett and Fielding had arisen in England.

LONDON:
1837.

I do not, for reasons to be hereafter stated, *Pickwick inferior to later books.* think the *Pickwick Papers* comparable to the later books; but, apart from the new vein of humour it opened, its wonderful freshness and its unflagging animal spirits, it has two characters that will probably continue to attract to it an unfading popularity. Its pre-eminent achievement is of course Sam Weller; one of those people that take *Exception for Sam Weller:* their place among the supreme successes of fiction, as one that nobody ever saw but everybody recognizes, at once perfectly natural and intensely original. Who is there that has ever thought him tedious? Who is so familiar with him as not still to be finding something new in him? Who is so amazed by his inexhaustible resources, or so amused by his inextinguishable laughter, as to doubt of his being as ordinary and perfect a reality, nevertheless, as anything in the London

LONDON: streets? When indeed the relish has been dulled
1837.
that makes such humour natural and appreciable, and not his native fun only, his ready and rich illustration, his imperturbable self-possession, but his devotion to his master, his chivalry and his gallantry, are no longer discovered, or believed no longer to exist, in the ranks of life to which he belongs, it will be worse for all of us than for
and for Mr. Pickwick.

Personal habits. Dickens was very fond of riding in these early years, and there was no recreation he so much indulged, or with such profit to himself, in the intervals of his hardest work. I was his companion oftener than I could well afford the time for, the distances being great and nothing else to be done for the day; but when a note would unexpectedly arrive while I knew him to be hunted hard by

one of his printers, telling me he had been sticking to work so closely that he must have rest, and, by way of getting it, proposing we should start together that morning at eleven o'clock for "a fifteen mile ride out, ditto in, and a lunch on ^{Riding.} "the road" with a wind-up of six o'clock dinner in Doughty-street, I could not resist the good fellowship. His notion of finding rest from mental exertion in as much bodily exertion of equal severity, continued with him to the last; taking in the later years what I always thought the too great strain of as many miles in walking as he now took in the saddle, and too often indulging it at night: for, though he was always passionately fond of walking, he observed as yet a moderation in it, even accepting as sufficient my seven or eight miles companionship. "What a brilliant ^{Walking.} morning for a country walk!" he would write, with not another word in his dispatch. Or, "Is "it possible that you can't, oughtn't, shouldn't, "mustn't, *won't* be tempted, this gorgeous day!" Or, "I start precisely—precisely mind—at half—"past one. Come, come, *come*, and walk in the "green lanes. You will work the better for it all "the week. COME! I shall expect you." Or, "You "don't feel disposed, do you, to muffle yourself "up, and start off with me for a good brisk walk

C. D.
to
J. F.

LONDON:
1837.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Jack
Straw's.

Relief after.
writing.

His ponies.

"over Hampstead-heath! I knows a good 'ous
 "there where we can have a red-hot chop for
 "dinner, and a glass of good wine:" which led
 to our first experience of Jack Straw's castle,
 memorable for many happy meetings in coming
 years. But the rides were most popular and fre-
 quent. "I think," he would write, "Richmond and
 "Twickenham, thro' the park, out at Knightsbridge,
 "and over Barnes-common—would make a beauti-
 "ful ride." Or, "Do you know, I shouldn't object
 "to an early chop at some village inn?" Or,
 "Not knowing whether my head was off or on,
 "it became so addled with work, I have gone
 "riding the old road, and should be truly delighted
 "to meet or be overtaken by you." Or, "Where
 "shall it be—*oh where*—Hampstead, Greenwich,
 "Windsor? WHERE? ? ? ? ? ? while the day is bright,
 "not when it has dwindled away to nothing! For
 "who can be of any use whatsomdever such a day
 "as this, excepting out of doors?" Or it might be
 interrogatory summons to "A hard trot of three
 "hours?" or intimation as laconic "To be heard
 "of at Eelpie-house, Twickenham!" When first I
 knew him, I may add, his carriage for his wife's
 use was a small chaise with a smaller pair of
 ponies, which, having a habit of making sudden
 rushes up bye-streets in the day and peremptory

standstills in ditches by night, were changed in
the following year for a more suitable equipage.

LONDON:
1837.

To this mention of his habits while at work when our friendship began, I have to add what will complete the relation already given, in connection with his *Sketches*, of the uneasy sense accompanying his labour that it was yielding insufficient for himself while it enriched others, which is a needful part of his story at this time.

Natural discontents.

At midsummer 1837, replying to some inquiries, and sending his agreement with Mr. Bentley for the *Miscellany* under which he was writing *Oliver*, he went on: "It is a very extraordinary fact (I "forgot it on Sunday) that I have NEVER HAD "from him a copy of the agreement respecting "the novel, which I never saw before or since "I signed it at his house one morning long ago. "Shall I ask him for a copy or no? I have looked ^{The early agreements.} at some memoranda I made at the time, and I "fear he has my second novel on the same terms, "under the same agreement. This is a bad look- "out, but we must try and mend it. You will "tell me you are very much surprised at my doing "business in this way. So am I, for in most "matters of labour and application I am punc- "tuality itself. The truth is (though you do not "need I should explain the matter to you, my

C. D.
to
J. F.

LONDON: "dear fellow) that if I had allowed myself to be
1837. "worried by these things, I could never have
"done as much as I have. But I much fear, in
"my desire to avoid present vexations, I have
"laid up a bitter store for the future." The
second novel, which he had promised in a com-
plete form for a very early date, and had already
selected subject and title for, was published four
years later as *Barnaby Rudge*; but of the third
he at present knew nothing but that he was ex-
pected to begin it, if not in the magazine, some-
where or other independently within a specified
time.

The first appeal made, in taking action upon his letter, had reference to the immediate pressure of the *Barnaby* novel; but it also opened up the question of the great change of circumstances since these various agreements had been precipitately signed by him, the very different situation brought about by the extraordinary increase in the popularity of his writings, and the advantage it would be, to both Mr. Bentley and himself, to make more equitable adjustment of their relations. Some misunderstandings followed, but were closed by a compromise in September 1837; by which the third novel was abandoned* on certain con-

**Relations
with Mr.
Bentley.**

**A com-
promise.**

* I have a memorandum in Dickens's writing that 500L.

ditions, and *Barnaby* was undertaken to be finished by November 1838. This involved a completion of the new story during the progress of *Oliver*, whatever might be required to follow on the close of *Pickwick*; and I doubted its wisdom. But it was accepted for the time.

He had meanwhile taken his wife abroad for a ten days' summer holiday, accompanied by the shrewd observant young artist, Mr. Hablot Browne, whose admirable illustrations to *Pickwick* had more than supplied Mr. Seymour's loss; and I had a letter from him on their landing at Calais on the 2nd of July.

"We have arranged for a post-coach to take us to Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, and a hundred other places, that I cannot recollect now and couldn't spell if I did. We went this afternoon in a barouche to some gardens where the people dance, and where they were footing it most heartily—especially the women, who in their short petticoats and light caps look uncommonly agreeable. A gentleman in a blue surtout and silken berlins accompanied us from the hotel, and acted as curator. He even waltzed with a

was to have been given for it, and an additional 25*l.* on its sale reaching 3000 copies: but I feel certain it was surrendered on more favourable terms.

CALAIS:
1837.

Trip to
Flanders.

C. D.
to
J. F.

CALAIS:
1837.

"very smart lady (just to show us, condescendingly, how it ought to be done), and waltzed elegantly too. We rang for slippers after we "came back, and it turned out that this gentleman "was the Boots."

First visit to
Broadstairs.

His later sea-side holiday was passed at Broadstairs, as were those of many subsequent years, and the little watering-place has been made memorable by his pleasant sketch of it. From his letters to myself a few lines may be given of his first doings and impressions there.

Writing
Pickwick,
No. XVIII.

Writing on the 3rd of September he reports himself just risen from an attack of illness. "I

"am much better, and hope to begin *Pickwick* "No. 18 to-morrow. You will imagine how queer "I must have been when I tell you that I have "been compelled for four-and-twenty mortal hours "to abstain from porter or other malt liquor !!!

C. D.
to
J. F.

"I done it though—really. . . I have discovered "that the landlord of the Albion has delicious "hollands (but what is that to *you*, for you cannot "sympathise with my feelings), and that a cobbler "who lives opposite to my bed-room window is a "roman-catholic, and gives an hour and a half to "his devotions every morning behind his counter. "I have walked upon the sands at low-water from "this place to Ramsgate, and sat upon the same

"at high-ditto till I have been flayed with the
"cold. I have seen ladies and gentlemen walking
"upon the earth in slippers of buff, and pickling
"themselves in the sea in complete suits of the
"same. I have seen stout gentlemen looking at
"nothing through powerful telescopes for hours,
"and, when at last they saw a cloud of smoke,
"fancying a steamer behind it, and going home
"comfortable and happy. I have found out that
"our next neighbour has a wife and something
"else under the same roof with the rest of his
"furniture — the wife deaf and blind, and the
"something else given to drinking. And if you
"ever get to the end of this letter *you* will find
"out that I subscribe myself on paper as on every-
"thing else (some atonement perhaps for its length
"and absurdity)," &c. &c.

In his next letter (from 12, High-street, Broad-
stairs, on the 7th) there is allusion to one of the
many piracies of *Pickwick*, which had distinguished
itself beyond the rest by a preface abusive of the
writer plundered. "I recollect this 'member of
"the dramatic-authors'-society' bringing an action
"once against Chapman who rented the City-
"theatre, in which it was proved that he had
"undertaken to write under special agreement
"seven melodramas for five pounds, to enable

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1837.
C. D.
to
J. F.

Piracies of
Pickwick.

C. D.
to
J. F.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1837.

"him to do which a room had been hired in a
 "gin-shop close by. The defendant's plea was,
 "that the plaintiff was always drunk, and had not
 "fulfilled his contract. Well; if the *Pickwick* has
 "been the means of putting a few shillings in the
 "vermin-eaten pockets of so miserable a creature,
 "and has saved him from a workhouse or a jail,
 "let him empty out his little pot of filth and wel-
 "come. I am quite content to have been the
 "means of relieving him. Besides, he seems to
 "have suffered by agreements!"

\ A sufferer
from agree-
ments.

His own troubles in that way were compro-
 mised for the time, as already hinted, at the close
 of this September month; and at the end of the
 month following, after finishing *Pickwick* and re-
 suming *Oliver*, the latter having been suspended

First visit to
Brighton.

by him during the recent disputes, he made his

first visit to Brighton. The opening of his letter

of Friday the 3rd of November is full of regrets

that I had been unable to join them there. "It

"is a beautiful day and we have been taking

"advantage of it, but the wind until to-day has

"been so high and the weather so stormy that

"Kate has been scarcely able to peep out of

"doors. On Wednesday it blew a perfect hurri-

"cane, breaking windows, knocking down shutters,

"carrying people off their legs, blowing the fires

C. D.
to
J. F.

"out, and causing universal consternation. The BRIGHTON:
1837.
C. D.
to
J. F.
"air was for some hours darkened with a shower
"of black hats (second-hand) which are supposed
"to have been blown off the heads of unwary A storm.
"passengers in remote parts of the town, and
"have been industriously picked up by the fisher-
"men. Charles Kean was advertised for *Othello*
"for the benefit of Mrs. Sefton, having most
"kindly postponed for this one day his departure
"for London.' I have not heard whether he got
"to the theatre, but I am sure nobody else did.
"They do *The Honeymoon* to-night, on which oc- The theatre.
"casion I mean to patronize the drayma. We
"have a beautiful bay-windowed sitting-room here,
"fronting the sea, but I have seen nothing of B's
"brother who was to have shown me the lions,
"and my notions of the place are consequently
"somewhat confined: being limited to the pavi-
"lion, the chain-pier, and the sea. The last is
"quite enough for me, and, unless I am joined
"by some male companion (*do you think I shall
"be?*), is most probably all I shall make ac-
"quaintance with. I am glad you like *Oliver* this
"month: especially glad that you particularize the
"first chapter. I hope to do great things with Characters in
Oliver Twist.
"Nancy. If I can only work out the idea I have
"formed of her, and of the female who is to con-

BRIGHTON: "trast with her, I think I may defy Mr. —— and
 1837.
 C. D. "all his works.* I have had great difficulty in
 to
 J. F. "keeping my hands off Fagin and the rest of
 "them in the evenings; but as I came down for
 "rest, I have resisted the temptation, and steadily
 "applied myself to the labour of being idle. Did
 "you ever read (of course you have though) De-
 "foe's *History of the Devil?* What a capital thing
 Reading
 De Foe.
 "it is! I bought it for a couple of shillings yester-
 "day morning, and have been quite absorbed in
 "it ever since. We must have been jolter-headed
 "geniuses not to have anticipated M's reply. My
 "best remembrances to him. I see H. at this mo-
 "ment. I must be present at a rehearsal of that
 "opera. It will be better than any comedy that
 "was ever played. Talking of comedies, I still
 "see NO THOROUGHFARE staring me in the face,
 "every time I look down that road. I have taken
 "No
 Thorough-
 fare."

* The allusion was to the supposed author of a paper in the *Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1837), in the course of which there was much high praise, but where the writer said at the close: "Indications are not wanting that the particular vein "of humour which has hitherto yielded so much attractive "metal, is worked out. . . . The fact is, Mr. Dickens writes "too often and too fast. . . . If he persists much longer in "this course, it requires no gift of prophecy to foretell his "fate—he has risen like a rocket, and he will come down "like the stick."

"places for Tuesday next. We shall be at home
"at six o'clock, and I shall hope at least to see
"you that evening. I am afraid you will find this
"letter extremely dear at eightpence, but if the
"warmest assurances of friendship and attachment,
"and anxious lookings-forward to the pleasure of
"your society, be worth anything, throw them into
"the balance, together with a hundred good
"wishes and one hearty assurance that I am,"
&c. &c. "CHARLES DICKENS. No room for the
"flourish—I'll finish it the next time I write to
"you."

BRIGHTON:
1837.

C. D.
to
J. F.

The flourish that accompanied his signature is familiar to every one. The allusion to the comedy expresses a fancy he at this time had of being able to contribute some such achievement in aid of Macready's gallant efforts at Covent-garden to bring back to the stage its higher associations of good literature and intellectual enjoyment. It connects curiously now that unrealised hope with the exact title of the only story he ever helped himself to dramatize, and which Mr. Fechter played at the Adelphi three years before his death.

Proposed
help to
Macready's
management.

CHAPTER VII.

BETWEEN PICKWICK AND NICKLEBY.

1837 AND 1838.

LONDON:
1837.

Edits the
*Life of
Grimaldi.*

NOT remotely bearing on the stage, nevertheless, was the employment on which I found him busy at his return from Brighton; one result of his more satisfactory relations with Mr. Bentley having led to a promise to edit for him a life of the celebrated clown, Grimaldi. The manuscript had been prepared from autobiographical notes by a Mr. Egerton Wilks, and contained one or two stories told so badly, and so well worth better telling, that the hope of enlivening their dulness at the cost of very little labour constituted a sort of attraction for him. Except the preface he did not write a line of this biography, such modifications or additions as he made having been dictated by him to his father; whom I found often in the supreme enjoyment of the office of amanuensis. He had also a most indifferent opinion of the mass of material which in general composed it, describing it to me as "twaddle"; and his own

modest estimate of the book, on its completion, LONDON:
 may be guessed from the number of notes of ad- 1837.
 miration (no less than thirty) which accompanied His own
 his written mention to me of the sale with which opinion of it.
 it started in the first week of its publication.
 "Seventeen hundred *Grimaldis* have been already
 "sold, and the demand increases daily!!!!!!!"
 "!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!"

It was not to have all its own way however. An objection
 A great many critical faults were found; and one to his writing
 point in particular was urged against his handling about
 such a subject, that he could never himself even Grimaldi.
 have seen Grimaldi. To this last objection he
 was moved to reply, and had prepared a letter
 for the *Miscellany*, "from editor to sub-editor,"
 which it was thought best to suppress, but of
 which the opening remark may now be not un-
 amusing. "I understand that a gentleman unknown Answered by
 "is going about this town privately informing all himself.
 "ladies and gentlemen of discontented natures,
 "that, on a comparison of dates and putting to-
 "gether of many little circumstances which occur
 "to his great sagacity, he has made the profound
 "discovery that I can never have seen Grimaldi
 "whose life I have edited, and that the book must
 "therefore of necessity be bad. Now, sir, although
 "I was brought up from remote country parts in

LONDON: "the dark ages of 1819 and 1820 to behold the
 1837. "splendour of Christmas pantomimes and the
 "humour of Joe, in whose honour I am informed
 "I clapped my hands with great precocity, and
 "although I even saw him act in the remote times
 "of 1823; yet as I had not then aspired to the
 "dignity of a tail-coat, though forced by a relent-
 "less parent into my first pair of boots, I am will-
 "ing, with the view of saving this honest gentle-
 "man further time and trouble, to concede that I
 "had not arrived at man's estate when Grimaldi
 C. D. log. "left the stage, and that my recollections of his
 "acting are, to my loss, but shadowy and imper-
 "fect. Which confession I now make publickly,
 "and without mental qualification or reserve, to
 "all whom it may concern. But the deduction of
 "this pleasant gentleman that therefore the Gri-
 "maldi book must be bad, I must take leave to
 "doubt. I don't think that to edit a man's bio-
 "graphy from his own notes it is essential you
 "should have known him, and I don't believe
 "that Lord Braybrooke had more than the very
 "slightest acquaintance with Mr. Pepys whose me-
 "moirs he edited two centuries after he died."

Completion
of *Pickwick*.

Enormous meanwhile, and without objection audible on any side, had been the success of the completed *Pickwick*, which we celebrated by a

LONDON:
1837.

dinner, with himself in the chair and Talfourd in the vice-chair, everybody in hearty good humour with every other body; and a copy of which I received from him on the 11th of December in the most luxurious of Hayday's bindings, with a note worth preserving for its closing allusion. The passage referred to in it was a comment, in delicately chosen words, that Leigh Hunt had made on the inscription at the grave in Kensalgreen.* "Chapman and Hall have just sent me, with a "copy of our deed, three 'extra-super' bound "copies of *Pickwick*, as per specimen inclosed. "The first I forward to you, the second I have "presented to our good friend Ainsworth, and the "third Kate has retained for herself. Accept your "copy with one sincere and most comprehensive "expression of my warmest friendship and esteem; "and a hearty renewal, if there need be any "renewal when there has been no interruption, of "all those assurances of affectionate regard which "our close friendship and communion for a long "time back has every day implied.... That beauti- "ful passage you were so kind and considerate "as to send me, has given me the only feeling "akin to pleasure (sorrowful pleasure it is) that I

C. D.
to
J. F.* See *ante*, p. 148.

LONDON: "have yet had, connected with the loss of my
 1837.
C. D. "dear young friend and companion; for whom my
 to
J. F. "love and attachment will never diminish, and by
A purpose long entertained. "whose side, if it please God to leave me in pos-
 "session of sense to signify my wishes, my bones,
 "whenever or wherever I die, will one day be
 "laid. Tell Leigh Hunt when you have an op-
 "portunity how much he has affected me, and
 "how deeply I thank him for what he has done.
 "You cannot say it too strongly."

Relations
with Chap-
man and
Hall.

The "deed" mentioned was one executed in the previous month to restore to him a third ownership in the book which had thus far enriched all concerned but himself. The original understanding respecting it Mr. Edward Chapman thus describes for me. "There was no agreement "about *Pickwick* except a verbal one. Each number "was to consist of a sheet and a half, for which "we were to pay fifteen guineas; and we paid him "for the first two numbers at once, as he required "the money to go and get married with. We were "also to pay more according to the sale, and I "think *Pickwick* altogether cost us three thousand "pounds." Adjustment to the sale would have cost four times as much, and of the actual payments I have myself no note; but, as far as my memory serves, they are overstated by Mr. Chap-

LONDON:
1887.

man. My impression is, that, above and beyond the first sum due for each of the twenty numbers (making no allowance for their extension after the first to thirty-two pages), successive cheques were given, as the work went steadily on to the enormous sale it reached, which brought up the entire sum received to two thousand five hundred pounds. *Payments for Pickwick.*

I had however always pressed so strongly the importance to him of some share in the copyright, that this at last was conceded in the deed above-mentioned, though five years were to elapse before the right should accrue; and it was only yielded as part consideration for a further agreement entered into at the same date (the 19th of November, 1837) whereby Dickens engaged to "write a new work the title whereof shall be determined by him, of a similar character and of the same extent as the *Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*," the first number of which was to be delivered on the fifteenth of the following March, and each of the numbers on the same day of each of the successive nineteen months; which was also to be the date of the payment to him, by Messrs. Chapman and Hall, of twenty several sums of one hundred and fifty pounds each for five years' use of the copyright, the entire ownership in which was then to revert to Dickens. The *Agreement for Nicholas Nickleby.*

LONDON: name of this new book, as all the world knows,
1837. was *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*; and between April 1838 and October 1839 it was begun and finished accordingly.

Going on
with Oliver
Twist.

The story
character-
ized.

Reasons for
popularity
with every
class

All through the interval of these arrangements *Oliver Twist* had been steadily continued. Month by month, for many months, it had run its opening course with the close of *Pickwick*, as we shall see it close with the opening of *Nickleby*; and the expectations of those who had built most confidently on the young novelist were more than confirmed. Here was the interest of a story simply but well constructed; and characters with the same impress of reality upon them, but more carefully and skilfully drawn. Nothing could be meaner than the subject, the progress of a parish or workhouse boy, nothing less so than its treatment. As each number appeared, his readers generally became more and more conscious of what already, as we have seen, had revealed itself amid even the riotous fun of *Pickwick*, that the purpose was not solely to amuse; and, far more decisively than its predecessor, the new story further showed what were the not least potent elements in the still increasing popularity that was gathering around the writer. His qualities could be appreciated as well as felt in an almost

equal degree by all classes of his various readers. Thousands were attracted to him because he placed them in the midst of scenes and characters with which they were already themselves acquainted; and thousands were reading him with no less avidity because he introduced them to passages of nature and life of which they before knew nothing, but of the truth of which their own habits and senses sufficed to assure them.

Only to genius are so revealed the affinities and sympathies of high and low, in regard to the customs and usages of life; and only a writer of the first rank can bear the application of such a test. For it is by the alliance of common habits, quite as much as by the bonds of a common humanity, that we are all of us linked together; and the result of being above the necessity of depending on other people's opinions, and that of being below it, are pretty much the same. It would equally startle both high and low to be conscious of the whole that is implied in this close approximation; but for the common enjoyment of which I speak such consciousness is not required; and for the present Fagin may be left undisturbed in his school of practical ethics with only the Dodger, Charley Bates, and his other promising scholars.

LONDON:
1837.

*Affinities of
High and
Low*

LONDON:
1838.

“Surgit
amari
aliquid.”

A night-
mare of an
agreement.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Appeal to
Mr. Bentley.

With such work as this in hand, it will hardly seem surprising that as the time for beginning *Nickleby* came on, and as he thought of his promise for November, he should have the sense of “something hanging over him like a hideous ‘nightmare.’” He felt that he could not complete the *Barnaby Rudge* novel by the November of that year as promised, and that the engagement he would have to break was unfitting him for engagements he might otherwise fulfil. He had undertaken what in truth was impossible. The labour of at once editing the *Miscellany* and supplying it with monthly portions of *Oliver*, more than occupied all the time left him by other labours absolutely necessary. “I no sooner get ‘myself up,’ he wrote, “high and dry, to attack ‘*Oliver* manfully, than up come the waves of ‘each month’s work, and drive me back again ‘into a sea of manuscript.’” There was nothing for it but that he should make further appeal to Mr. Bentley. “I have recently,” he wrote to him on the 11th of February 1838, “been thinking a ‘great deal about *Barnaby Rudge*. *Grimaldi* has ‘occupied so much of the short interval I had ‘between the completion of the *Pickwick* and the ‘commencement of the new work, that I see it ‘will be wholly impossible for me to produce it

"by the time I had hoped, with justice to myself LONDON:
 "or profit to you. What I wish you to consider —————
 "is this: would it not be far more to your inter- Proposes
 "est, as well as within the scope of my ability, if to write
 "Barnaby Rudge began in the *Miscellany* in
 "diately on the conclusion of *Oliver Twist*, and Barnaby in
 "were continued there for the same time, and the *Miscellany*.
 "then published in three volumes? Take these
 "simple facts into consideration. If the *Miscel-*
 "lany is to keep its ground, it must have some
 "continuous tale from me when *Oliver* stops. If
 "I sat down to *Barnaby Rudge*, writing a little
 "of it when I could (and with all my other en-
 "gagements it would necessarily be a very long Letter to
 "time before I could hope to finish it that way), Mr. Bentley
 "it would be clearly impossible for me to begin
 "a new series of papers in the *Miscellany*. The
 "conduct of three different stories at the same
 "time, and the production of a large portion of
 "each, every month, would have been beyond
 "Scott himself. Whereas, having *Barnaby* for the
 "*Miscellany*, we could at once supply the gap
 "which the cessation of *Oliver* must create, and
 "you would have all the advantage of that prestige
 "in favour of the work which is certain to enhance
 "the value of *Oliver Twist* considerably. Just
 "think of this at your leisure. I am really anxious

LONDON: "to do the best I can for you as well as for myself,
1838.
Result of it. "must be all on your side." This letter nevertheless, which had also requested an overdue account of the sales of the *Miscellany*, led to differences which were only adjusted after six months' wrangling; and I was party to the understanding then arrived at, by which, among other things, *Barnaby* was placed upon the footing desired, and was to begin when *Oliver* closed.

**Progress of
*Oliver Twist.***

Of the progress of his *Oliver*, and his habits of writing at the time, it may perhaps be worth giving some additional glimpses from his letters of 1838. "I was thinking about *Oliver* till dinner time yesterday," he wrote on the 9th of March,* "and, just as I had fallen upon him tooth and nail, was called away to sit with Kate. I did

* There is an earlier allusion I may quote, from a letter in January, for its mention of a small piece written by him at this time, but not included in his acknowledged writings.

"I am as badly off as you. I have not done the *Young Gentlemen*, nor written the preface to *Grimaldi*, nor thought of *Oliver Twist*, or even supplied a subject for the plate." The *Young Gentlemen* was a small book of sketches which he wrote anonymously as the companion to a similar half-crown volume of *Young Ladies*. (not written by him), for Messrs. Chapman and Hall. He had before written for them, without his name, *Sunday under Three Heads*; and he added subsequently a volume of *Young Couples*.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Young Gentlemen and Young Couples.

"eight slips however, and hope to make them LONDON:
1888.
 "fifteen this morning." Three days before, a Birth of
his eldest
daughter. little daughter had been born to him, who became a little god-daughter to me; on which occasion (having closed his announcement with a postscript of "I can do nothing this morning, "What time will you ride? The sooner the better, for a good long spell"), we rode out fifteen miles on the great north-road, and, after dining at the Red-lion in Barnet on our way home, distinguished the already memorable day by bringing in both hacks dead lame. Celebration
of the day.

On that day week, Monday the 13th, after describing himself "sitting patiently at home waiting for *Oliver Twist* who has not yet arrived," which was his pleasant form of saying that his fancy had fallen into sluggishness that morning, he made addition not less pleasant as to some piece of painful news I had sent him, now forgotten. "I have not yet seen the paper, and you throw me into a fever. The comfort is, that all "the strange and terrible things come uppermost "and that the good and pleasant things are mixed "up with every moment of our existence so plentifully that we scarcely heed them." At the close of the month Mrs. Dickens was well enough to accompany him to Richmond, for now the time was come to start *Nickleby*; and, having been

C. D.
to
J. F.

LONDON:
1838.
First number
of *Nicholas
Nickleby.*

away from town when *Pickwick's* first number came out, he made it a superstition to be absent at all future similar times. The magazine-day of that April month, I remember, fell upon a Saturday, and the previous evening had brought me a peremptory summons: "Meet me at the Shake-speare on Saturday night at eight; order your 'horse at midnight, and ride back with me." Which was done accordingly. The smallest hour was sounding from St. Paul's into the night before we started, and the night was none of the pleasantest; but we carried news that lightened every part of the road, for the sale of *Nickleby* had reached that day the astonishing number of nearly fifty thousand! I left him working with unusual cheerfulness at *Oliver Twist* when I left the Star-and-garter on the next day but one, after celebrating with both friends on the previous evening

Its sale.

2nd of April
1838.

an anniversary* which concerned us all (their second and my twenty-sixth); and which we kept always in future at the same place, except when they were living out of England, for twenty successive years. It was a part of his love of regularity and order, as well as of his kindness of nature, to place such friendly meetings as these under rules of habit and continuance.

* See *ante*, p. 139-40.

CHAPTER VIII.

OLIVER TWIST.

1838.

THE whole of his time not occupied by *Nickleby* was now given to *Oliver*, and as the story shaped itself to its close it took extraordinary hold of him. I never knew him work so frequently after dinner, or to such late hours (a practice he afterwards abhorred), as during the final months of this task; which it was now his hope to complete before October, though its close in the magazine would not be due until the following March. “I worked pretty well last night,” he writes, referring to it in May, “very well indeed; but all—“though I did eleven close slips before half-past twelve I have four to write to complete the chapter; and, as I foolishly left them till this morning, have the steam to get up afresh.” A month later he writes: “I got to the sixteenth slip last night, and shall try hard to get to the thir-

LONDON:
1838.

Interest in
the close of
Oliver Twist.

C. D.
to
J. F.

LONDON:
1838.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Nancy,
Sikes, and
the Jew.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"tieth before I go to bed."* Then, on a "Tuesday night" at the opening of August, he wrote: "Hard at work still. Nancy is no more. I showed 'what I have done to Kate last night, who was 'in an unspeakable '*state*:' from which and my 'own impression I augur well. When I have sent 'Sikes to the devil, I must have yours." "No, "no," he wrote, in the following month: "don't, "don't let us ride till to-morrow, not having yet "disposed of the Jew, who is such an out and "outer that I don't know what to make of him." No small difficulty to an inventor, where the creatures of his invention are found to be as real as himself; but this also was mastered; and then there remained but the closing quiet chapter to tell the fortunes of those who had figured in the tale. To this he summoned me in the first week of September, replying to a request of mine that he'd give me a call that day. "Come and give "me a call, and let us have 'a bit o' talk' before "we have a bit o' som'at else. My missis is going

* Here is another of the same month: "All day I have been at work on *Oliver*, and hope to finish the chapter by "bed time. I wish you'd let me know what Sir Francis "Burdett has been saying about him at some Birmingham "meeting. B. has just sent me the *Courier* containing some "reference to his speech; but the speech I haven't seen."

"out to dinner, and I ought to go, but I have LONDON:
1838.
"got a bad cold. So do you come, and sit here,
"and read, or work, or do something, while I
"write the LAST chapter of *Oliver*, which will be The last
chapter.
"arter a lamb chop." How well I remember that
evening! and our talk of what should be the fate
of Charley Bates, on behalf of whom (as indeed
for the Dodger too) Talfourd had pleaded as
earnestly in mitigation of judgment as ever at the
bar for any client he had most respected.

The publication had been announced for October, but the third-volume-illustrations interrupted it a little. This part of the story, as we have seen, had been written in anticipation of the magazine, and the designs for it, having to be executed "in a lump," were necessarily done somewhat hastily. The matter supplied in advance of the monthly portions in the magazine, formed the bulk of the last volume as published in the book; and for this the plates had to be prepared by Cruikshank also in advance of the magazine, to furnish them in time for the separate publication: Sikes and his dog, Fagin in the cell, and Rose Maylie and Oliver, being the three last. None of these Dickens had seen until he saw them in the book on the eve of its publication; when he so strongly objected to one of them that

Cruikshank illustrations.

Etchings for last volume.

LONDON: it had to be cancelled. "I returned suddenly to
 1838.
 town yesterday afternoon," he wrote to the artist
 Letter to Cruikshank. at the end of October, "to look at the latter pages
 "of *Oliver Twist* before it was delivered to the
 "booksellers, when I saw the majority of the
 "plates in the last volume for the first time. With
 "reference to the last one—Rose Maylie and Oliver
 "—without entering into the question of great
 "haste, or any other cause, which may have led
 "to its being what it is, I am quite sure there can
 "be little difference of opinion between us with
 Requests an "respect to the result. May I ask you whether
 etching to be "you will object to designing this plate afresh,
 cancelled. "and doing so *at once*, in order that as few im-
 "pressions as possible of the present one may go
 "forth? I feel confident you know me too well to
 "feel hurt by this enquiry, and with equal con-
 "fidence in you I have lost no time in preferring
 "it." This letter, printed from a copy in Dickens's
 handwriting fortunately committed to my keeping,
 entirely disposes of a wonderful story* originally

* Reproduced as below, in large type, and without a word of contradiction or even doubt, in a biography of Mr. Dickens

A marvellous fable: put forth by Mr. Hotten. "Dr. Shelton McKenzie, in the
 "American *Round Table*, relates this anecdote of *Oliver
 Twist*: In London I was intimate with the brothers Cruik-
 "shank, Robert and George, but more particularly with the

promulgated in America, with a minute particularity of detail that might have raised the reputation of Sir Benjamin Backbite himself. Whether all Sir Benjamin's laurels however should fall to the per-

LONDON:
1888.

A false
statement
exposed.

"latter. Having called upon him one day at his house (it "was then in Myddelton-terrace, Pentonville), I had to wait "while he was finishing an etching, for which a printer's boy "was waiting. To while away the time, I gladly complied "with his suggestion that I should look over a portfolio "crowded with etchings, proofs, and drawings, which lay "upon the sofa. Among these, carelessly tied together in a "wrap of brown paper, was a series of some twenty-five or "thirty drawings, very carefully finished, through most of "which were carried the well-known portraits of Fagin, Bill "Sikes and his dog, Nancy, the Artful Dodger, and Master "Charles Bates—all well known to the readers of *Oliver Twist*. There was no mistake about it; and when Cruik-shank turned round, his work finished, I said as much. ascribed to Mr. Cruik-shank:

"He told me that it had long been in his mind to show the "life of a London thief by a series of drawings engraved by "himself, in which, without a single line of letter-press, the "story would be strikingly and clearly told. 'Dickens,' he "continued, 'dropped in here one day, just as you have done, "and, while waiting until I could speak with him, took "up that identical portfolio, and ferreted out that bundle of "drawings. When he came to that one which represents "Fagin in the condemned cell, he studied it for half an hour, "and told me that he was tempted to change the whole plot "of his story; not to carry Oliver Twist through adventures "in the country, but to take him up into the thieves' den

LONDON: son by whom the tale is told,* or whether any part belongs to the authority alleged for it, is unfortunately not quite clear. There would hardly have been a doubt, if the fable had been confined to the other side of the Atlantic; but it has been reproduced and widely circulated on this side also; and the distinguished artist whom it calumniates by attributing the invention to him has been left undefended from its slander. Dickens's letter spares me the necessity of characterizing, by the only word which would have been appli-

“in London, show what their life was, and bring Oliver through it without sin or shame. I consented to let him write up to as many of the designs as he thought would suit his purpose; and that was the way in which Fagin, Sikes, and Nancy were created. My drawings suggested them, rather than his strong individuality suggested my drawings.”

and accepted by him. * This question has been partly solved, since my last edition, by Mr. Cruikshank's announcement in the *Times*, that, though Dr. Mackenzie had “confused some circumstances with respect to Mr. Dickens looking over some drawings and sketches,” the substance of his information as to who it was that originated *Oliver Twist*, and all its characters, had been derived from Mr. Cruikshank himself. The worst part of the foregoing fable, therefore, has not Dr. Mackenzie for its author; and Mr. Cruikshank is to be congratulated on the prudence of his rigid silence respecting it as long as Mr. Dickens lived.

cable to it, a tale of such incredible and monstrous absurdity as that one of the masterpieces of its author's genius had been merely an illustration of etchings by Mr. Cruikshank!

LONDON:
1838.

The completed *Oliver Twist* found a circle of ^{Reputation of Oliver} admirers, not so wide in its range as those of *Twist*. others of his books, but of a character and mark that made their honest liking for it, and steady advocacy of it, important to his fame; and the book has held its ground in the first class of his writings. It deserves that place. The admitted exaggerations in *Pickwick* are incident to its club's extravaganza of adventure, of which they are part, and are easily separable from the reality of its wit and humour, and its incomparable freshness; but no such allowances were needed here. Make what deduction the too scrupulous reader of *Oliver* might please for "lowness" in the subject, the precision and the unexaggerated force of the delineation were not to be disputed. The art of copying from nature ^{Copying from nature.} as it really exists in the common walks, had not been carried by any one to greater perfection, or to better results in the way of combination. Such was his handling of the piece of solid, existing, everyday life, which he made here the groundwork of his wit and tenderness, that the book

LONDON: which did much to help out of the world the social evils it pourtrayed, will probably preserve longest the picture of them as they then were. Thus far indeed he had written nothing to which in a greater or less degree this felicity did not belong. At the time of which I am speaking, the debtors' prisons described in *Pickwick*, the parochial management denounced in *Oliver*, and the Yorkshire schools exposed in *Nickleby*, were all actual existences; which now have no vivider existence than in the forms he thus gave to them. With wiser purposes, he superseded the old petrifying process of the magician in the Arabian tale, and struck the prisons and parish practices of his country, and its schools of neglect and crime, into palpable life for ever. A portion of the truth of the past, of the character and very history of the moral abuses of his time, will thus remain always in his writings; and it will be remembered that with only the light arms of humour and laughter, and the gentle ones of pathos and sadness, he carried cleansing and reform into those Augean stables.

Augean
stables
cleansed

Not that such intentions are in any degree ever intruded by this least didactic of writers. It is the fact that teaches, and not any sermonizing drawn from it. *Oliver Twist* is the history of a

child born in a workhouse and brought up by parish overseers, and there is nothing introduced that is out of keeping with the design. It is a series of pictures from the tragi-comedy of lower life worked out by perfectly natural agencies, from the dying mother and the starved wretches of the first volume, through the scenes and gradations of crime, careless or deliberate, which have a frightful consummation in the last volume, but are never without the reliefs and self-assertions of humanity even in scenes and among characters so debased. It is indeed the primary purpose of the tale to show its little hero, jostled as he is in the miserable crowd, preserved everywhere from the vice of its pollution, by an exquisite delicacy of natural sentiment which clings to him under every disadvantage. There is not a more masterly touch in fiction, and it is by such that this delightful fancy is consistently worked out to the last, than Oliver's agony of childish grief on being brought away from the branch-workhouse, the wretched home associated only with suffering and starvation, and with no kind word or look, but containing still his little companions in misery.

LONDON:
1838.

Chief design
of the story.

Of the figures the book has made familiar to every one it is not my purpose to speak. To name one or two will be enough. Bumble and

Its principal
figures.

LONDON: his wife; Charley Bates and the Artful Dodger; the cowardly charity-boy, Noah Claypole, whose *Such agony, please sir* puts the whole of a school-life into one phrase; the so-called merry old jew, supple and blackhearted Fagin; and Bill Sikes, the bolder-faced bulky-legged ruffian, with his white hat and white shaggy dog,—who does not know them all, even to the least points of dress, look, and walk, and all the small peculiarities that express great points of character? I have omitted poor wretched Nancy; yet it is to be said of her, with such honest truthfulness her strength and weakness are shown, in the virtue that lies neighboured in her nature so closely by vice, that the people meant to be entirely virtuous

— Nancy.

- Rose and her lover.

show poorly beside her. But, though Rose and her lover are trivial enough beside Bill and his mistress, being indeed the weak part of the story, it is the book's pre-eminent merit that vice is nowhere made attractive in it. Crime is not more intensely odious, all through, than it is also most wretched and most unhappy. Not merely when its exposure comes, when the latent recesses of guilt are laid bare, and all the agonies of remorse are witnessed; not in the great scenes only, but in those lighter passages where no such aim might seem to have guided the apparently care-

less hand; this is emphatically so. Whether it be the comedy or the tragedy of crime, terror and retribution dog closely at its heels. They are as plainly visible when Fagin is first shown in his den, boiling the coffee in the saucepan and stopping every now and then to listen when there is the least noise below,—the villainous confidence of habit never extinguishing in him the anxious watchings and listenings of crime,—as when we see him at the last in the condemned cell, like a poisoned human rat in a hole.

LONDON:
1838.

The comedy
and tragedy
of crime.

A word may be added upon the attacks directed against the subject of the book, to which Dickens made reply in one of his later editions; declaring his belief that he had tried to do a service to society, and had certainly done no disservice, in depicting a knot of such associates in crime in all their deformity and squalid wretchedness, skulking uneasily through a miserable life to a painful and shameful death. It is indeed never the subject that can be objectionable, if the treatment is not so, as we may see by much popular writing since, where subjects unimpeachably high are brought low by degrading sensualism. When the object of a writer is to exhibit the vulgarity of vice, and not its pretensions to heroism or cravings for sympathy, he

Reply to
attacks.

The high
and low.

LONDON: may measure his subject with the highest. We
1838.
Le Sage, Gay, meet with a succession of swindlers and thieves
and Fielding: in *Gil Blas*; we shake hands with highwaymen
and house-breakers all round in the *Beggars' Opera*; we pack cards with La Ruse or pick
pockets with Jonathan in Fielding's *Mr. Wild the Great*; we follow cruelty and vice from its least
beginning to its grossest ends in the prints of Hogarth; but our morals stand none the looser
for any of them. As the spirit of the Frenchman
was pure enjoyment, the strength of the English-
men lay in wisdom and satire. The low was set
forth to pull down the false pretensions of the
high. And though for the most part they differ
in manner and design from Dickens in this tale,
desiring less to discover the soul of goodness in
things evil than to brand the stamp of evil on
things apt to pass for good, their objects and re-
sults are substantially the same. Familiar with
the lowest kind of abasement of life, the know-
ledge is used, by both him and them, to teach
what constitutes its essential elevation; and by
the very coarseness and vulgarity of the materials
employed, we measure the gentlemanliness and
beauty of the work that is done. The quack in
morality will always call such writing immoral,
and the impostors will continue to complain of

Likeness to
them.

its treatment of imposture; but for the rest of the world it will still teach the invaluable lesson of what men ought to be from what they are. We cannot learn it more than enough. We cannot too often be told that as the pride and grandeur of mere external circumstance is the falsest of earthly things, so the truth of virtue in the heart is the most lovely and lasting; and from the pages of *Oliver Twist* this teaching is once again to be taken by all who will look for it there.

And now, while *Oliver* was running a great career of popularity and success, the shadow of the tale of *Barnaby Rudge* which he was to write on similar terms, and to begin in the *Miscellany* when the other should have ended, began to darken everything around him. We had much discussion respecting it, and I had no small difficulty in restraining him from throwing up the agreement altogether; but the real hardship of his position, and the considerate construction to be placed on every effort made by him to escape from obligations incurred in ignorance of the sacrifices implied by them, will be best understood from his own frank and honest statement. On the 21st of January 1839, enclosing me the copy of a letter which he proposed to send to Mr. Bentley

LONDON:
1838.

The super-
ficial and the
true.

LONDON:
1838.

C. D.
to
J. F.

the following morning, he thus wrote. "From
"what I have already said to you, you will have
"been led to expect that I entertained some such
"intention. I know you will not endeavour to
"dissuade me from sending it. Go it MUST. It
"is no fiction to say that at present I *cannot* write
"this tale. The immense profits which *Oliver* has
"realized to its publisher and is still realizing;
"the paltry, wretched, miserable sum it brought
"to me (not equal to what is every day paid for
"a novel that sells fifteen hundred copies at
"most); the recollection of this, and the con-
"sciousness that I have still the slavery and
"drudgery of another work on the same journey-
"man-terms; the consciousness that my books are
"enriching everybody connected with them but
"myself, and that I, with such a popularity as I
"have acquired, am struggling in old toils, and

~ An old story "wasting my energies in the very height and
"freshness of my fame, and the best part of my
"life, to fill the pockets of others, while for those
"who are nearest and dearest to me I can realize
"little more than a genteel subsistence: all this
"puts me out of heart and spirits. And I can-
"not—cannot and will not—under such circum-
"stances that keep me down with an iron hand,
"distress myself by beginning this tale until I have

“had time to breathe; and until the intervention
“of the summer, and some cheerful days in the
“country, shall have restored me to a more genial
“and composed state of feeling. There—for six
“months *Barnaby Rudge* stands over. And but ^{Proposed}
“for you, it should stand over altogether. For I _{delay of}
Barnaby.
“do most solemnly declare that morally, before
“God and man, I hold myself released from such
“hard bargains as these, after I have done so
“much for those who drove them. This net that
“has been wound about me, so chafes me, so ex-
“asperates and irritates my mind, that to break
“it at whatever cost—that I should care nothing
“for—is my constant impulse. But I have not
“yielded to it. I merely declare that I must have
“a postponement very common in all literary
“agreements; and for the time I have mentioned
“—six months from the conclusion of *Oliver* in
“the *Miscellany*—I wash my hands of any fresh
“accumulation of labour, and resolve to proceed
“as cheerfully as I can with that which already
“presses upon me.”*

* Upon receiving this letter I gently reminded him that I had made objection at the time to the arrangement on the failure of which he empowered me to bring about the settlement it was now proposed to supersede. I cannot give his reply, as it would be unbecoming to repeat the warmth of its

LONDON:
1838.

Resignation
of the *Miscel-
lany*.

Barnaby
given up by
Mr. Bentley.

To describe what followed upon this is not necessary. It will suffice to state the results. Upon the appearance in the *Miscellany*, in the early months of 1839, of the last portion of *Oliver Twist*, its author, having been relieved altogether from his engagement to the magazine, handed over, in a familiar epistle from a parent to his child, the editorship to Mr. Ainsworth; and the still subsisting agreement to write *Barnaby Rudge* was, upon the overture of Mr. Bentley himself in June of the following year, 1840, also put an end to, on payment by Dickens, for the copyright of *Oliver Twist* and such printed stock as remained of the edition then on hand, of two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds. What was further incident to this transaction will be told hereafter; and a few words may meanwhile be taken, not

C. D.
to
J. F.

expression to myself, but I preserve its first few lines to guard against any possible future misstatement. "If you suppose that anything in my letter could by the utmost latitude of construction imply the smallest dissatisfaction on my part, for God's sake dismiss such a thought from your mind. I have never had a momentary approach to doubt or discontent where you have been mediating for me. . . . "I could say more, but you would think me foolish and rhapsodical; and such feeling as I have for you is better kept within one's own breast than vented in imperfect and inexpressive words."

without significance in regard to it, from the parent's familiar epistle. It describes the child as aged two years and two months (so long had he watched over it); gives sundry pieces of advice concerning its circulation, and the importance thereto of light and pleasant articles of food; and concludes, after some general moralizing on the shiftings and changes of this world having taken so wonderful a turn that mail-coach guards were become no longer judges of horse-flesh: "I reap "no gain or profit by parting from you, nor will "any conveyance of your property be required, "for in this respect you have always been literally "Bentley's Miscellany and never mine."

LONDON:
1838.

Parent's
epistle to
the child.

CHAPTER IX.

NICHOLAS NICKLEBY.

1838 AND 1839.

LONDON:
1838-9.

Doubts of
Nickleby:

Dispersed.

I WELL recollect the doubt there was, mixed with the eager expectation which the announcement of his second serial story had awakened, whether the event would justify all that interest; and if indeed it were possible that the young writer could continue to walk steadily under the burthen of the popularity laid upon him. The first number dispersed this cloud of a question in a burst of sunshine; and as much of the gaiety of nations as had been eclipsed by old Mr. Pickwick's voluntary exile to Dulwich, was restored by the cheerful confidence with which young Mr. Nicholas Nickleby stepped into his shoes. Everything that had given charm to the first book was here, with more attention to the important requisite of a story, and more wealth as well as truth of character.

How this was poured forth in each successive

LONDON:
1838-9.

number, it hardly needs that I should tell. To recall it now, is to talk of what since has so interwoven itself with common speech and thought, as to have become almost part of the daily life of us all. It was well said of him, soon after his death, in mentioning how largely his compositions had furnished one of the chief sources of intellectual enjoyment to this generation, that his language had become part of the language of every class and rank of his countrymen, and his characters were a portion of our contemporaries. "It Remark of
the Saturday
Review." seems scarcely possible," continued this other-wise not too indulgent commentator, "to believe "that there never were any such persons as Mr. "Pickwick and Mrs. Nickleby and Mrs. Gamp. "They are to us not only types of English life, "but types actually existing. They at once revealed "the existence of such people, and made them "thoroughly comprehensible. They were not "studies of persons, but persons. And yet they "were idealized in the sense that the reader did Idealization
of the real. "not think that they were drawn from the life. "They were alive; they were themselves." The writer might have added that this is proper to all true masters of fiction who work in the higher regions of their calling.

Nothing certainly could express better what

LONDON.
1838-9.

the new book was at this time making manifest to its thousands of readers; not simply an astonishing variety in the creations of character, but what it was that made these creations so real; not merely the writer's wealth of genius, but the secret and form of his art. There never was any one who had less need to talk about his characters, because 'never were characters so surely revealed by themselves; and it was thus their reality made itself felt at once. They talked so well that everybody took to repeating what they said, as the writer just quoted has pointed out; and the sayings being the constituent elements of the characters, these also of themselves became part of the public. This, which must always be a novelist's highest achievement, was the art carried to exquisite perfection on a more limited stage by Miss Austen; and, under widely different conditions both of art and work, it was pre-eminently that of Dickens. I told him, on reading the first dialogue of Mrs. Nickleby and Miss Knag, that he had been lately reading Miss Bates in *Emma*, but I found that he had not at this time made the acquaintance of that fine writer.

Who that recollects the numbers of *Nickleby* as they appeared can have forgotten how each number added to the general enjoyment? All

'Characters
self-revealed.'

Miss Bates
and Mrs.
Nickleby.

LONDON:
1838-9.

that had given *Pickwick* its vast popularity, the overflowing mirth, hearty exuberance of humour, and genial kindness of satire, had here the advantage of a better laid design, more connected incidents, and greater precision of character. Everybody seemed immediately to know the Nickleby family as well as his own. Dotheboys, Dotheboys, with all that rendered it, like a piece by Hogarth, both ludicrous and terrible, became a household word. Successive groups of Mantalinis, Kenwigses, Crummleses, introduced each its little world of reality, lighted up everywhere with truth and life, with capital observation, the quaintest drollery, and quite boundless mirth and fun. The brothers Cheeryble brought with them all the charities. With Smike came the first of those pathetic pic- Smike and
tures that filled the world with pity for what Newman
cruelty, ignorance, or neglect may inflict upon the Noggs.
young. And Newman Noggs ushered in that class of the creatures of his fancy in which he took himself perhaps the most delight, and which the oftener he dealt with the more he seemed to know how to vary and render attractive; gentlemen by A favourite
nature, however shocking bad their hats or un-
genteel their dialects; philosophers of modest endurance,
and needy but most respectable coats;
a sort of humble angels of sympathy and self-

LONDON:
1838-9.

Sydney
Smith to
C. D.

denial, though without a particle of splendour or even good looks about them, except what an eye as fine as their own feelings might discern. "My friends," wrote Sydney Smith, describing to Dickens the anxiety of some ladies of his acquaintance to meet him at dinner, "have not the smallest objection to be put into a number, but on the contrary would be proud of the distinction; and "Lady Charlotte, in particular, you may marry to "Newman Noggs." Lady Charlotte was not a more real person to Sydney than Newman Noggs; and all the world that Dickens attracted to his books could draw from them the same advantage as the man of wit and genius. It has been lately objected that humanity is not seen in them in its highest or noblest types, and the assertion may hereafter be worth considering; but what is very certain is, that they have inculcated humanity in familiar and engaging forms to thousands and tens of thousands of their readers, who can hardly have failed each to make his little world around him somewhat the better for their teaching. From first to last they were never for a moment alien to either the sympathies or the understandings of any class; and there were crowds of people at this time that could not have told you what imagination meant, who were

adding month by month to their limited stores
the boundless gains of imagination.

LONDON:
1838-9.

One other kindest product of humour in *Nickleby*, not to be passed over in even thus briefly recalling a few first impressions of it, was the good little miniature painter Miss La Creevy, Miss La Creevy. living by herself, overflowing with affections she has nobody to bestow on, but always cheerful by dint of industry and good heartedness. When she is disappointed in the character of a woman she has been to see, she eases her mind by saying a very cutting thing at her expense *in a soliloquy:* and thereby illustrates one of the advantages of having lived alone so long, that she made always a confidant of herself; was as sarcastic as she could be, by herself, on people who offended her; pleased herself, and did no harm. Here was one of those touches, made afterwards familiar to the readers of Dickens by innumerable similar fancies, which added affection to their admiration for the writer, and enabled them to anticipate the feeling with which posterity would regard him as indeed the worthy companion of the Goldsmiths and Fieldings. There was a piece of writing, too, within not many pages of it, of which Leigh Hunt exclaimed on reading it that Remark of Leigh Hunt. it surpassed the best things of the kind in Smol-

LONDON:
1838-9.

lett that he was able to call to mind. This was the letter of Miss Squeers to Ralph Nickleby, giving him her version of the chastisement inflicted by Nicholas on the schoolmaster. "My pa "requests me to write to you, the doctors con- "sidering it doubtful whether he will ever recuvver "the use of his legs which prevents his holding a "pen. We are in a state of mind beyond every- "thing, and my pa is one mask of brooses both "blue and green likewise two forms are steeped "in his Goar. . . . Me and my brother were then "the victims of his feury since which we have "suffered very much which leads us to the arrow- "ing belief that we have received some injury in "our insides, especially as no marks of violence "are visible externally. I am screaming out loud "all the time I write and so is my brother which "takes off my attention rather and I hope will "excuse mistakes"

Early and
later books.

Thus rapidly may be indicated some elements that contributed to the sudden and astonishingly wide popularity of these books. I purposely reserve from my present notices of them, which are biographical rather than critical, any statement of the reasons for which I think them inferior in imagination and fancy to some of the later works; - but there was continued and steady growth in

LONDON:
1838-9.

them on the side of humour, observation, and character, while freshness and raciness of style continued to be an important help. There are faults of occasional exaggeration in the writing, but none that do not spring from animal spirits and good humour, or a pardonable excess, here and there, on the side of earnestness; and it has the rare virtue, whether gay or grave, of being always thoroughly intelligible and for the most part thoroughly natural, of suiting itself without effort to every change of mood, as quick, warm, and comprehensive, as the sympathies it is taxed to express. The tone also is excellent. We are never repelled by egotism or conceit, and mis-<sup>Character
of the
writing.</sup>placed ridicule never disgusts us. When good is going on, we are sure to see all the beauty of it; and when there is evil, we are in no danger of mistaking it for good. No one can paint more picturesquely by an apposite epithet, or illustrate more happily by a choice allusion. Whatever he knows or feels, too, is always at his fingers' ends, and is present through whatever he is doing. What Rebecca says to Ivanhoe of the black knight's mode of fighting would not be wholly inapplicable to Dickens's manner of writing. "There is more than mere strength, there seems "as if the whole soul and spirit of the champion

LONDON: "were given to every blow he deals." This, when
1838-9.
— a man deals his blows with a pen, is the sort of handling that freshens with new life the oldest facts, and breathes into thoughts the most familiar an emotion not felt before. There seemed to be not much to add to our knowledge of London until his books came upon us, but each in this respect outstripped the other in its marvels. In *Nickleby* the old city reappears under every aspect; and whether warmth and light are playing over what is good and cheerful in it, or the veil is uplifted from its darker scenes, it is at all times our privilege to see and feel it as it absolutely is. Its interior hidden life becomes familiar as its commonest outward forms, and we discover that we hardly knew anything of the places we supposed that we knew the best.

Materials gathered in Yorkshire.

Of such notices as his letters give of his progress with *Nickleby*, which occupied him from February 1838 to October 1839, something may now be said. Soon after the agreement for it was signed, before the Christmas of 1837 was over, he went down into Yorkshire with Mr. Hablot Browne to look up the Cheap Schools in that county to which public attention had been painfully drawn by a law case in the previous year; which had before been notorious for cruel-

ties committed in them, whereof he had heard as early as in his childish days;* and which he was bent upon destroying if he could. I soon heard the result of his journey; and the substance of that letter, returned to him for the purpose, is in his preface to the story written for the collected edition. He came back confirmed in his design, and in February set to work upon his first chapter. On his birthday he wrote to me. "I <sup>I Beginning
the book:
7 Feb. 1838.</sup> have begun! I wrote four slips last night, so "you see the beginning is made. And what is "more, I can go on: so I hope the book is in "training at last." "The first chapter of *Nicholas* "is done," he wrote two days later. "It took "time, but I think answers the purpose as well "as it could." Then, after a dozen days more: "I wrote twenty slips of *Nicholas* yesterday, left "only four to do this morning (up at 8 o'clock "too!), and have ordered my horse at one." I joined him as he expected, and we read together

* "I cannot call to mind now how I came to hear about "Yorkshire schools when I was a not very robust child, sitting in bye-places near Rochester castle, with a head full of "Partridge, Strap, Tom Pipes, and Sancho Panza; but I "know that my first impressions of them were picked up at "that time."

C. D. log.

LONDON: at dinner that day the first number of *Nicholas Nickleby*.

1838-9.
A difficulty
at starting.

In the following number there was a difficulty which it was marvellous should not oftener have occurred to him in this form of publication. "I could not write a line till three o'clock," he says, describing the close of that number, "and have yet five slips to finish, and don't know what to put in them, for I have reached the point I meant to leave off with." He found easy remedy for such a miscalculation at his outset, and it was nearly his last as well as first misadventure of the kind: his difficulty in *Pickwick*, as he once told me, having always been, not the running short, but the running over: not the whip but the drag that was wanted. Sufflaminandus erat, as Ben Jonson said of Shakespeare. And in future works, with such marvellous nicety could he do always what he had planned, strictly within the space available, that only another similar instance is remembered by me. The third number introduced the school; and "I remain dissatisfied until you have seen and read number three," was his way of announcing to me his own satisfaction with that first handling of Dotheboys-hall. Nor had it the least part in my admiration of his powers at this time, that he

never wrote without the printer at his heels; that, always in his latest works two or three numbers in advance, he was never a single number in advance with this story; that the more urgent the call upon him the more readily he rose to it; and that his astonishing animal spirits never failed him. As late in the November month of 1838 as the 20th, he thus wrote to me: "I have "just begun my second chapter; cannot go out "to-night; must get on; think there *will* be a "*Nickleby* at the end of this month now (I "doubted it before); and want to make a start "towards it if I possibly can." That was on Tuesday; and on Friday morning in the same week, explaining to me the failure of something that had been promised the previous day, he tells me: "I was writing incessantly until it was "time to dress; and have not yet got the subject of my last chapter, which *must be* finished "to-night."

But this was not all. Between that Tuesday and Friday an indecent assault had been committed on his book by a theatrical adapter named Stirling, who seized upon it without leave while yet only a third of it was written; hacked, cut, and garbled its dialogue to the shape of one or two farcical actors; invented for it a plot and

LONDON:
1838-9.

Never in ad-
vance with
Nickleby.

C. D.
to
J. F.

LONDON: an ending of his own, and produced it at the
1838-9. Adelphi; where the outraged author, hard pressed as he was with an unfinished number, had seen it in the interval between the two letters I have quoted. He would not have run such a risk in later years, but he threw off lightly at present even such offences to his art; and though I was with him at a representation of his *Oliver Twist* the following month at the Surrey-theatre, when in the middle of the first scene he laid himself down upon the floor in a corner of the box and never rose from it until the drop-scene fell, he had been able to sit through *Nickleby*, and to see a kind of merit in some of the actors. Mr. Yates had a sufficiently humorous meaning in his wildest extravagance, and Mr. O. Smith could put into his queer angular oddities enough of a hard dry pathos, to conjure up shadows at least of Manta-
Enjoying a play. lini and Newman Noggs; of Ralph Nickleby there was indeed nothing visible save a wig, a spencer, and a pair of boots, but there was a quaint actor named Wilkinson who proved equal to the drollery though not to the fierce brutality of Squeers; and even Dickens, in the letter that amazed me by telling me of his visit to the theatre, was able to praise "the skilful management and dressing of the boys, the capital man-

**Actors of
*Nickleby.***

"ner and speech of Fanny Squeers, the dramatic representation of her card-party in Squeers's parlour, the careful making-up of all the people, "and the exceedingly good tableaux formed from "Browne's sketches . . . Mrs. Keeley's first appearance beside the fire (see *wollum*), and all "the rest of Smike, was excellent; bating sundry "choice sentiments and rubbish regarding the "little robins in the fields which have been put in "the boy's mouth by Mr. Stirling the adapter." His toleration could hardly be extended to the robins, and their author he very properly punished by introducing and denouncing him at Mr. Crummles's farewell supper.

The story was well in hand at the next letter to be quoted, for I limit myself to those only with allusions that are characteristic or illustrative.

"I must be alone in my glory to-day," he wrote, ^{Writing Mrs.}
_{Nickleby's} "and see what I can do. I perpetrated a great ^{love-scene.}
 "amount of work yesterday, and have every day
 "indeed since Monday, but I must buckle-to
 "again and endeavour to get the steam up. If
 "this were to go on long, I should 'bust' the
 "boiler. I think Mrs. Nickleby's love-scene will
 "come out rather unique." The steam doubtless
 rose dangerously high when such happy inspiration came. It was but a few numbers earlier

LONDON:
 1838-9.
 C. D. log.

LONDON: than this, while that eccentric lady was imparting her confidences to Miss Knag, that Sydney Smith confessed himself vanquished by a humour against which his own had long striven to hold out. "*Nickleby* is *very good*," he wrote to Sir George Phillips after the sixth number. "I stood "out against Mr. Dickens as long as I could, but "he has conquered me." *

BROAD-STAIRS:
1839.

C. D.
to
J. F.

The close of the story was written at Broad-stairs, from which (he had taken a house "two doors from the Albion-hotel, where we had that "merry night two years ago") he wrote to me on the 9th September 1839. "I am hard at it, but "these windings-up wind slowly, and I shall think "I have done great things if I have entirely "finished by the 20th. Chapman and Hall came "down yesterday with Browne's sketches, and "dined here. They imparted their intentions as "to a Nicklebeian fête which will make you laugh "heartily—so I reserve them till you come. It "has been blowing great guns for the last three "days, and last night (I wish you could have seen "it!) there was such a sea! I staggered down to

* Moore in his *Diary* (April 1837) describes Sydney crying down Dickens at a dinner in the Row, "and evidently "without having given him a fair trial."

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1839.

"the pier, and, creeping under the lee of a large
"boat which was high and dry, watched it break-
"ing for nearly an hour. Of course I came back
"wet through." On the afternoon of Wednesday
the 18th he wrote again. "I shall not finish
"entirely before Friday, sending Hicks the last
"twenty pages of manuscript by the night coach.
"I have had pretty stiff work as you may sup-
"pose, and I have taken great pains. The dis-
"covery is made, Ralph is dead, the loves have
"come all right, Tim Linkinwater has proposed,
"and I have now only to break up Dotheboys
"and the book together. I am very anxious that
"you should see this conclusion before it leaves Close of the
book.
"my hands, and I plainly see therefore that I
"must come to town myself on Saturday if I
"would not endanger the appearance of the
"number. So I have written to Hicks to send
"proofs to your chambers as soon as he can that
"evening; and if you don't object I will dine with
"you any time after five, and we will devote the
"night to a careful reading. I have not written
"to Macready, for they have not yet sent me the
"title page of dedication, which is merely 'To
"W. C. Macready, Esq., the following pages are
"inscribed, as a slight token of admiration and
"regard, by his friend the Author.' Meanwhile

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1839.

A proposed
celebration.

"will you let him know that I have fixed the
"Nickleby dinner for Saturday the 5th of October.
"Place, the Albion in Aldersgate-street. Time,
"six for half-past exactly . . . I shall be more
"glad than I can tell you to see you again, and
"I look forward to Saturday, and the evenings
"that are to follow it, with most joyful anticipa-
"tion. I have had a good notion for *Barnaby*,
"of which more anon."

The shadow from the old quarter, we see, the unwritten *Barnaby* tale, intrudes itself still; though hardly, as of old, making other pleasanter anticipations less joyful. Such indeed at this time was his buoyancy of spirit that it cost him little, compared with the suffering it gave him at all subsequent similar times, to separate from the people

Parting from
creatures of
his fancy.

who for twenty months had been a part of himself. The increased success they had achieved left no present room but for gladness and well-won pride; and so, to welcome them into the immortal family of the English novel, and open cheerily to their author "fresh woods and pastures

The Nickleby
dinner.

"new," we had the dinner-celebration. But there is small need now to speak, of what has left, to one of the few survivors, only the sadness of remembering that all who made the happiness of it are passed away. There was Talfourd, facile and

fluent of kindest speech, with whom we were in constant and cordial intercourse, and to whom, grateful for his copyright exertions in the house of commons, he had dedicated *Pickwick*: there was Maclise, dear and familiar friend to us both, whose lately painted portrait of Dickens hung in the room:^{*} and there was the painter of the Rent-day, who made a speech as good as his pictures, rich in colour and quaint with homely allusion, all about the reality of Dickens's genius, and how there had been nothing like him issuing his novels part by part since Richardson issued his novels volume by volume, and how in both cases people talked about the characters as if they were next-door neighbours or friends; and as many letters were written to the author of

LONDON:
1839.

Talfourd
and Maclise.

Sir David
Wilkie.

* This portrait was given to Dickens by his publishers, for whom it was painted with a view to an engraving for *Nickleby*, which however was poorly executed, and of a size too small to do the original any kind of justice. In some sort to help the reader's fancy to a complete impression, Maclise having caught as happily the figure as the face, a skilful outline of the painting has been executed (see title page). "As a likeness," said Mr. Thackeray of the work, and no higher praise could be given to it, "it is perfectly "amazing. A looking-glass could not render a better fac- "simile. We have here the real identical man Dickens, the "inward as well as the outward of him."

The painting
by Maclise.

LONDON: *Nickleby* to implore him not to kill poor Smike,
1839. as had been sent by young ladies to the author
of *Clarissa* to "save Lovelace's soul alive." These
and others are gone. Of those who survive only
three arise to my memory—Macready, who spoke
his sense of the honour done him by the dedica-
tion in English as good as his delivery of it, Mr.
Edward Chapman, and Mr. Thomas Beard.

CHAPTER X.

DURING AND AFTER NICKLEBY.

1838 AND 1839.

THE name of his old gallery-companion may carry me back from the days to which the close of *Nickleby* had led me, to those when it was only beginning. "This snow will take away the cold weather," he had written, in that birth-day letter of 1838 already quoted, "and then for 'Twickenham.'" Here a cottage was taken, nearly all the summer was passed, and a familiar face there was Mr. Beard's. There, with Talfourd and with Thackeray and Jerrold, we had many friendly days, too; and the social charm of Maclise was seldom wanting. Nor was there anything that exercised a greater fascination over Dickens than the grand enjoyment of idleness, the ready self-abandonment to the luxury of laziness, which we both so laughed at in Maclise, under whose easy swing of indifference, always the most amusing at the most aggravating events and times, we

TWICKENHAM:
1838.

Daniel
Maclise.

TWICKEN-
HAM;
1838.

The charm
of Maclise.

Other artist
friends.

knew that there was artist-work as eager, energy as unwearying, and observation almost as penetrating as Dickens's own. A greater enjoyment than the fellowship of Maclise at this period it would indeed be difficult to imagine. Dickens hardly saw more than he did, while yet he seemed to be seeing nothing; and the small esteem in which this rare faculty was held by himself, a quaint oddity that gave to shrewdness itself in him an air of Irish simplicity, his unquestionable turn for literature, and a varied knowledge of it not always connected with such intense love and such unwearyed practice of one special and absorbing art, combined to render him attractive far beyond the common. His fine genius and his handsome person, of neither of which at any time he seemed himself to be in the slightest degree conscious, completed the charm. Edwin Landseer, all the world's favourite, and the excellent Stanfield, came a few months later, in the Devonshire-terrace days; but another painter-friend was George Cattermole, who had then enough and to spare of fun as well as fancy to supply ordinary artists and humourists by the dozen, and wanted only a little more ballast and steadiness to have had all that could give attraction to good fellowship. A friend now especially welcome,

too, was the novelist Mr. Ainsworth, who shared with us incessantly for the three following years in the companionship which began at his house; with whom we visited, during two of those years, friends of art and letters in his native Manchester, from among whom Dickens brought away his Brothers Cheeryble; and to whose sympathy in tastes and pursuits, accomplishments in literature, open-hearted generous ways, and cordial hospitality, many of the pleasures of later years were due. Frederick Dickens, to whom soon after this a treasury-clerkship was handsomely given, on Dickens's application, by Mr. Stanley of Alderley, known in and before those Manchester days, was for the present again living with his father, but passed much time in his brother's home; and another familiar face was that of Mr. Thomas Mitten, who had known him when himself a law-clerk in Lincoln's-inn, through whom there was introduction of the relatives of a friend and partner, Mr. Smithson, the gentleman connected with Yorkshire mentioned in his preface to *Nickleby*, who became very intimate in his house. These, his father and mother and their two younger sons, with members of his wife's family, and his married sisters and their husbands, Mr. and Mrs. Burnett and Mr. and Mrs. Austin, are

TWICKENHAM:
1838.

Mr. Harrison
Ainsworth.

TWICKEN-
HAM:
1838.

figures that all associate themselves prominently with the days of Doughty-street and the cottages of Twickenham and Petersham as remembered by me in the summers of 1838 and 1839.

PETERSHAM:
1839.

In the former of these years the sports were necessarily quieter* than at Petersham, where extensive garden-grounds admitted of much athletic competition, from the more difficult forms of which I in general modestly retired, but where Dickens

Childish en-
joyments

* We had at Twickenham a balloon club for the children, of which I appear to have been elected the president on condition of supplying all the balloons, a condition which I seem so insufficiently to have complied with as to bring down upon myself the subjoined resolution. The Snodgering Blee and Popem Jee were the little brother and sister, for whom, as for their successors, he was always inventing these surprising descriptive epithets. "Gammon Lodge, Saturday evening, "June 23rd, 1838. Sir, I am requested to inform you that "at a numerous meeting of the Gammon Aeronautical As- "sociation for the Encouragement of Science and the Con- "sumption of Spirits (of Wine)—Thomas Beard Esquire, "Mrs. Charles Dickens, Charles Dickens Esquire, the Snodger- "ing Blee, Popem Jee, and other distinguished characters "being present and assenting, the vote of censure of which I "enclose a copy was unanimously passed upon you for gross "negligence in the discharge of your duty, and most un- "justifiable disregard of the best interests of the Society. I "am, Sir, your most obedient Servant, Charles Dickens, "Honorary Secretary. To John Forster, Esquire."

for the most part held his own against even such accomplished athletes as Maclise and Mr. Beard. PETERSHAM
1839.
Athletic sports. Bar-leaping, bowling, and quoits, were among the games carried on with the greatest ardour; and in sustained energy, what is called keeping it up, Dickens certainly distanced every competitor. Even the lighter recreations of battledore and bagatelle were pursued with relentless activity; and at such amusements as the Petersham races, in those days rather celebrated, and which he visited daily while they lasted, he worked much harder himself than the running horses did.

What else his letters of these years enable me to recall that could possess any interest now, may be told in a dozen sentences. He wrote a farce by way of helping the Covent-garden manager which the actors could not agree about, and which he turned afterwards into a story called the *Lamp-lighter*. He entered his name among the students Entered at the Middle-temple. at the inn of the Middle-temple, though he did not eat dinners there until many years later. We made together a circuit of nearly all the London prisons; and, in coming to the prisoners under remand while going over Newgate, accompanied by Macready and Mr. Hablot Browne,* were

* Not Mr. Procter, as, by an oversight of his own,

LONDON: startled by a sudden tragic cry of "My God! there's Wainewright!" In the shabby-genteel creature, with sandy disordered hair and dirty moustache, who had turned quickly round with a defiant stare at our entrance, looking at once mean and fierce, and quite capable of the cowardly murders he had committed, Macready had been horrified to recognize a man familiarly known to him in former years, and at whose table he had dined. Between the completion of *Oliver* and its publication, Dickens went to see something of North Wales; and joining him at Liverpool, I returned with him.* Soon after his arrival he had pleasant communication with Lockhart, dining with him at Cruikshank's a little later; and this was the prelude to a *Quarterly* notice of *Oliver* by Mr. Ford, written at the instance of

Oliver Twist
and the Quar-
terly Review.

Dickens caused to be said in an interesting paper on Wainewright which appeared in his weekly periodical.

* I quote from a letter dated Llangollen, Friday morning, 3rd Nov. 1838. "I wrote to you last night, but by mistake the letter has gone on Heaven knows where in my portmanteau. I have only time to say, go straight to Liverpool by the first Birmingham train on Monday morning, and at the Adelphi-hotel in that town you will find me. I trust to you to see my dear Kate, and bring the latest intelligence of her and the darlings. My best love "to them."

C. D.
to
J. F.

Lockhart but without the raciness he would have put into it, in which amende was made for previous less favourable remarks in that review. Dickens had not however waited for this to express publicly his hearty sympathy with Lockhart's handling of some passages in his admirable *Life of Scott* that had drawn down upon him the wrath of the Bal-lantynes. This he did in the *Examiner*; where also I find him noticing a book by Thomas Hood: "Up the Rhine." "rather poor, but I have not said so, because "Hood is too, and ill besides." In the course of the year he was taken into Devonshire to select a home for his father, on the removal of the latter (who had long given up his reporting duties) from his London residence; and this he found in a cottage at Alphington, near Exeter, where he placed the elder Dickens with his wife and their youngest son. The same year closed Macready's Covent-garden management, and at the dinner to the retiring manager, when the Duke of Cambridge took the chair, Dickens spoke with that wonderful instinct of knowing what to abstain from saying, as well as what to say, which made his after-dinner speeches quite unique. Nor should mention be omitted of the Shakespeare-society, now ^{After-dinner speeches.} ^{Shakespeare Society.} diligently attended, of which Procter, Talfourd, Macready, Thackeray, Henry Davison, Blanchard,

LONDON:
1839.

Incidents
of 1839:
Second
daughter.

Charles Knight, John Bell, Douglas Jerrold, Maclise, Stanfield, George Cattermole, the good Tom Landseer, Frank Stone, and other old friends were members, and where, out of much enjoyment and many disputings,* there arose, from Dickens and all of us, plenty of after-dinner oratory. The closing months of this year of 1839 had special interest for him. At the end of October another daughter was born to him, who bears the name of that dear friend of his and mine, Macready, whom he asked to be her godfather; and before the close of the year he had moved out of Doughty-street into Devonshire-terrace, a handsome house

* One of these disputes is referred to by Charles Knight in his Autobiography; and I see in Dickens's letters the mention of another in which I seem to have been turned by his kindly counsel from some folly I was going to commit. "I "need not, I am sure, impress upon you the sincerity with "which I make this representation. Our close and hearty "friendship happily spares me the necessity. But I will add "this—that feeling for you an attachment which no ties of "blood or other relationship could ever awaken, and hoping "to be to the end of my life your affectionate and chosen "friend, I am convinced that I counsel you now as you would "counsel me if I were in the like case; and I hope and trust "that you will be led by an opinion which I am sure cannot "be wrong when it is influenced by such feelings as I bear "towards you, and so many warm and grateful considera- "tions."

with a garden of considerable size, shut out from the New-road by a high brick wall facing the York-gate into Regent's-park. These various matters, and his attempts at the *Barnaby* novel on the conclusion of *Nickleby*, are the subjects of his letters between October and December.

LONDON:
1839.

"Thank God, all goes famously. I have worked ^{House-hunting.} "at *Barnaby* all day, and moreover seen a beautiful (and reasonable) house in Kent-terrace, where "Macready once lived, but larger than his." Again (this having gone off): "*Barnaby* has suffered so "much from the house-hunting, that I mustn't "chop to-day." Then (for the matter of the Middle-temple), "I return the form. It's the right "temple, I take for granted. *Barnaby* moves, not ^{Working slowly.} "at race-horse speed, but yet as fast (I think) as "under these unsettled circumstances could possibly be expected." Or again: "All well. *Barnaby* "has reached his tenth page. I have just turned "lazy, and have passed into *Christabel*, and thence "to *Wallenstein*." At last the choice was made. "A house of great promise (and great premium), ^{Devonshire-terrace in prospect.} "undeniable' situation, and excessive splendour, "is in view. Mitton is in treaty, and I am in ecstatic restlessness. Kate wants to know whether "you have any books to send her, so please to "shoot here any literary rubbish on hand." To

EXETER: these I will only add a couple of extracts from
1839. his letters while in Exeter arranging his father's and mother's new home. They are very humorous; and the vividness with which everything, once seen, was photographed in his mind and memory, is pleasantly shown in them.

From
Exeter: "I took a little house for them this morning"
C. D. (5th March, 1839: from the New-London-inn),
to
J. F. "and if they are not pleased with it I shall be
 "grievously disappointed. Exactly a mile beyond
 "the city on the Plymouth road there are two
 "white cottages: one is theirs and the other be-
Home for his "longs to their landlady. I almost forget the
father and "number of rooms, but there is an excellent parlour
mother. "with two other rooms on the ground floor, there
 "is really a beautiful little room over the parlour
 "which I am furnishing as a drawing-room, and
 "there is a splendid garden. The paint and paper
 "throughout is new and fresh and cheerful-look-
 "ing, the place is clean beyond all description,
 "and the neighbourhood I suppose the most beau-
 "tiful in this most beautiful of English counties.
 "Of the landlady, a Devonshire widow with whom
 "I had the honour of taking lunch to-day, I must
 "make most especial mention. She is a fat, infirm,
 "splendidly-fresh-faced country dame, rising sixty
 "and recovering from an attack 'on the nerves'—

"I thought they never went off the stones, but I
"find they try country air with the best of us. In
"the event of my mother's being ill at any time,
"I really think the vicinity of this good dame, the
"very picture of respectability and good humour,
"will be the greatest possible comfort. *Her* furni-
"ture and domestic arrangements are a capital
"picture, but that I reserve till I see you, when I
"anticipate a hearty laugh. She bears the highest
"character with the bankers and the clergyman
"(who formerly lived in *my* cottage himself), and
"is a kind-hearted worthy capital specimen of the
"sort of life, or I have no eye for the real and no
"idea of finding it out.

"This good lady's brother and his wife live ^{A landlady}
"in the next nearest cottage, and the brother ^{and her} friends.
"transacts the good lady's business, the nerves
"not admitting of her transacting it herself, al-
"though they leave her in her debilitated state
"something sharper than the finest lancet. Now
"the brother, having coughed all night till he
"coughed himself into such a perspiration that
"you might have 'wringed his hair,' according to
"the asseveration of eye witnesses, his wife was
"sent for to negotiate with me; and if you could
"have seen me sitting in the kitchen with the two
"old women, endeavouring to make them com-

EXETER:
1889.

- EXETER: "prehend that I had no evil intentions or covert
1839." designs, and that I had come down all that way
A cross-ex-
amination. "to take some cottage and had *happened* to walk
"down that road and see that particular one, you
"would never have forgotten it. Then, to see the
"servant girl run backwards and forwards to the
"sick man, and when the sick man had signed
Signing
agreements. "one agreement which I drew up and the old
"woman instantly put away in a disused tea-
"caddy, to see the trouble and the number of
"messages it took before the sick man could be
"brought to sign another (a duplicate) that we
"might have one apiece, was one of the richest
"scraps of genuine drollery I ever saw in all my
"days. How, when the business was over, we
"became conversational; how I was facetious, and
"at the same time virtuous and domestic; how I
"drank toasts in the beer, and stated on inter-
Autobio-
graphical. "rogatory that I was a married man and the
"father of two blessed infants; how the ladies
"marvelled thereat; how one of the ladies, having
"been in London, enquired where I lived, and,
"being told, remembered that Doughty-street and
"the Foundling-hospital were in the Old-Kent-
"road, which I didn't contradict—all this and a
"great deal more must make us laugh when I re-
"turn, as it makes me laugh now to think of. Of

“my subsequent visit to the upholsterer recom- EXETER:
1839.
Visit to an
upholsterer.
“mended by the landlady; of the absence of the
“upholsterer’s wife, and the timidity of the up-
“holsterer fearful of acting in her absence; of my
“sitting behind a high desk in a little dark shop,
“calling over the articles in requisition and check-
“ing off the prices as the upholsterer exhibited
“the goods and called them out; of my coming
“over the upholsterer’s daughter with many
“virtuous endearments, to propitiate the establish-
“ment and reduce the bill; of these matters I say
“nothing, either, for the same reason as that just
“mentioned. The discovery of the cottage I
“seriously regard as a blessing (not to speak it
“profanely) upon our efforts in this cause. I had
“heard nothing from the bank, and walked
“straight there, by some strange impulse, directly
“after breakfast. I am sure they may be happy
“there; for if I were older, and my course of
“activity were run, I am sure *I* could, with God’s
“blessing, for many and many a year.” . . .

“The theatre is open here, and Charles Kean The theatre.
“is to-night playing for his last night. If it had
“been the ‘rig’lar’ drama I should have gone, but
“I was afraid Sir Giles Overreach might upset
“me, so I stayed away. My quarters are excel-
“lent, and the head-waiter is *such* a waiter!
“Knowles (not Sheridan Knowles, but Knowles

EXETER: "of the Cheetham-hill-road*) is an ass to him.
1839. "This sounds bold, but truth is stranger than
"fiction. By the bye, not the least comical thing
"that has occurred was the visit of the up-
"holsterer (with some further calculations) since I
"began this letter. I think they took me here at
"the New-London for the Wonderful Being I am;
"they were amazingly sedulous; and no doubt
"they looked for my being visited by the nobility
"and gentry of the neighbourhood. My first and

**Visit from an
upholsterer.** "only visitor came to-night: A ruddy-faced man
"in faded black, with extracts from a feather-bed
"all over him; an extraordinary and quite mira-
"culously dirty face; a thick stick; and the per-
"sonal appearance altogether of an amiable bailiff
"in a green old age. I have not seen the proper
"waiter since, and more than suspect I shall not
"recover this blow. He was announced (by *the*
"waiter) as 'a person.' I expect my bill every
"minute. . . .

"The waiter is laughing outside the door with
"another waiter—this is the latest intelligence of
"my condition."

* This was the butler of Mr. Gilbert Winter, one of the kind Manchester friends whose hospitality we had enjoyed with Mr. Ainsworth, and whose shrewd, quaint, old-world ways come delightfully back to me as I write his once well-known and widely honoured name.

CHAPTER XI.

NEW LITERARY PROJECT.

1839.

THE time was now come for him seriously to ~~PETERSHAM:~~
~~1839.~~ busy himself with a successor to *Pickwick* and *Nickleby*, which he had not however waited thus long before turning over thoroughly in his mind. *Nickleby's* success had so far outgone even the expectation raised by *Pickwick's*, that, without some handsome practical admission of this fact at the close, its publishers could hardly hope to retain him. This had been frequently discussed by us, and was well understood. But, apart from ~~the future.~~ ^{Thoughts for} the question of his resuming with them at all, he had persuaded himself it might be unsafe to resume in the old way, believing the public likely to tire of the same twenty numbers over again. There was also another and more sufficient reason for change which naturally had great weight with him, and this was the hope, that, by invention of a new mode as well as kind of serial

PETERSHAM: publication, he might be able for a time to dis-
1839.—continue the writing of a long story with all its strain on his fancy, in any case to shorten and vary the length of the stories written by himself, and perhaps ultimately to retain all the profits of a continuous publication without necessarily himself contributing every line that was to be written for it. These considerations had been discussed still more anxiously; and for several months some such project had been taking form in his thoughts.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Suggestion
for his
publishers.

While he was at Petersham (July 1839) he thus wrote to me. "I have been thinking that "subject over. Indeed I have been doing so to "the great stoppage of *Nickleby* and the great "worrying and fidgetting of myself. I have been "thinking that if Chapman and Hall were to admit you into their confidence with respect to "what they mean to do at the conclusion of "*Nickleby*, without admitting me, it would help us "very much. You know that I am well-disposed "towards them, and that if they do something "handsome, even handsomer perhaps than they "dreamt of doing, they will find it their interest, "and will find me tractable. You know also that "I have had straightforward offers from responsible men to publish anything for me at a

"per-cent-age on the profits, and take all the risk;
"but that I am unwilling to leave them, and have
"declared to you that if they behave with
"liberality to me I will not on any consideration,
"although to a certain extent I certainly and
"surely must gain by it. Knowing all this, I feel My mediation
"sure that if you were to put before them with them.
"glories of our new project, and, reminding them
"that when *Barnaby* is published I am clear of
"all engagements, were to tell them that if they
"wish to secure me and perpetuate our connec-
"tion now is the time for them to step gallantly
"forward and make such proposals as will pro-
"duce that result—I feel quite sure that if this
"should be done by you, as you only can do it,
"the result will be of the most vital importance
"to me and mine, and that a very great deal
"may be effected, thus, to recompense your friend
"for very small profits and very large work as
"yet. I shall see you, please God, on Tuesday
"night; and if they wait upon you on Wed-
"nesday, I shall remain in town until that
"evening."

They came; and the tenor of the interview was so favourable that I wished him to put in writing what from time to time had been discussed in connection with the new project. This

PETERSHAM: led to the very interesting letter I shall now quote, written also in the same month from Petersham. I did not remember, until I lately read it, that the notion of a possible visit to America had been in his thoughts so early.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Proposed
weekly
publication.

"I should be willing to commence on the "thirty-first of March, 1840, a new publication "consisting entirely of original matter, of which "one number price threepence should be published "every week, and of which a certain amount of "numbers should form a volume, to be published "at regular intervals. The best general idea of "the plan of the work might be given perhaps by "reference to the *Spectator*, the *Tatler*, and Gold- "smith's *Bee*; but it would be far more popular "both in the subjects of which it treats and its "mode of treating them.

Old favourites
to be revived.

"I should propose to start, as the *Spectator* "does, with some pleasant fiction relative to the "origin of the publication; to introduce a little "club or knot of characters and to carry their "personal histories and proceedings through the "work; to introduce fresh characters constantly; "to reintroduce Mr. Pickwick and Sam Weller, "the latter of whom might furnish an occasional "communication with great effect; to write amus- "ing essays on the various foibles of the day as

"they arise; to take advantage of all passing
 "events; and to vary the form of the papers by
 "throwing them into sketches, essays, tales, ad-
 "ventures, letters from imaginary correspondents
 "and so forth, so as to diversify the contents as
 "much as possible.

PETERHAM:
 1839.
 C. D.
 to
 J. F.

"In addition to this general description of the
 "contents, I may add that under particular heads
 "I should strive to establish certain features in
 "the work, which should be so many veins of in-
 "terest and amusement running through the whole.

"Thus the Chapters on Chambers which I have Chapters on
Chambers.
 "long thought and spoken of, might be very well
 "incorporated with it; and a series of papers has
 "occurred to me containing stories and descrip-
 "tions of London as it was many years ago, as
 "it is now, and as it will be many years hence,
 "to which I would give some such title as The
 "Relaxations of Gog and Magog, dividing them Relaxations
of Gog and
Magog.
 "into portions like the *Arabian Nights*, and sup-
 "posing Gog and Magog to entertain each other
 "with such narrations in Guildhall all night long,
 "and to break off every morning at daylight. An
 "almost inexhaustible field of fun, raillery, and
 "interest, would be laid open by pursuing this
 "idea.

"I would also commence, and continue from

PETERSHAM: "time to time, a series of satirical papers pur-

1839.

C. D.
to
J. F.
Savage Chro-
nicles.

"porting to be translated from some Savage
"Chronicles, and to describe the administration
"of justice in some country that never existed,
"and record the proceedings of its wise men.
"The object of this series (which if I can com-
"pare it with anything would be something be-
"tween *Gulliver's Travels* and the *Citizen of the
"World*) would be to keep a special look-out
"upon the magistrates in town and country, and
"never to leave those worthies alone.

"The quantity of each number that should
"be written by myself would be a matter for dis-
"cussion and arrangement. Of course I should
"pledge and bind myself upon that head. Nobody

Others as well
as himself to
write.

"but myself would ever pursue *these ideas*, but I
"must have assistance of course, and there must
"be some contents of a different kind. Their
"general nature might be agreed upon before-
"hand, but I should stipulate that this assistance
"is chosen solely by myself, and that the con-
"tents of every number are as much under my
"own control, and subject to as little interference,
"as those of a number of *Pickwick* or *Nickleby*.

"In order to give fresh novelty and interest
"to this undertaking, I should be ready to con-
"tract to go at any specified time (say in the

“midsummer or autumn of the year, when a sufficient quantity of matter in advance should have been prepared, or earlier if it were thought fit) either to Ireland or to America, and to write from thence a series of papers descriptive of the places and people I see, introducing local tales, traditions, and legends, something after the plan of Washington Irving's *Alhambra*. I should wish the republication of these papers in a separate form, with others to render the subject complete (if we should deem it advisable), to form part of the arrangement for the work; and I should wish the same provision to be made for the republication of the Gog and Magog series, or indeed any that I undertook.

PETERHAM:
1839.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Visits to
Ireland or
America.

“This is a very rough and slight outline of the project I have in view. I am ready to talk the matter over, to give any further explanations, to consider any suggestions, or to go into the details of the subject immediately. I say nothing of the novelty of such a publication now-a-days or its chances of success. Of course I think them very great, very great indeed; almost beyond calculation, or I should not seek to bind myself to anything so extensive.

“The heads of the terms upon which I should

PETERSHAM: "be prepared to go into this undertaking would
1839.

C. D.
to
J. F. "be—That I be made a proprietor in the work

To have a
property in
the work. "and a sharer in the profits. That when I bind

"myself to write a certain portion of every num-
ber, I am ensured, *for* that writing in every
"number, a certain sum of money. That those
"who assist me, and contribute the remainder of
"every number, shall be paid by the publishers
"immediately after its appearance, according to
"a scale to be calculated and agreed upon, on
"presenting my order for the amount to which
"they may be respectively entitled. Or, if the
Money pay-
ments. "publishers prefer it, that they agree to pay me
"a certain sum for the *whole* of every number,
"and leave me to make such arrangements for
"that part which I may not write, as I think best.
"Of course I should require that for these pay-
"ments, or any other outlay connected with the
"work, I am not held accountable in any way;
"and that no portion of them is to be considered
"as received by me on account of the profits.
"I need not add that some arrangement would
"have to be made, if I undertake my Travels,
"relative to the expenses of travelling.

"Now I want our publishing friends to take
"these things into consideration, and to give me
"the views and proposals they would be disposed

"to entertain when they have maturely considered PETERSHAM:
"the matter." 1839.

The result of their consideration was on the whole satisfactory. An additional fifteen hundred pounds was to be paid at the close of *Nickleby*, ^{Weekly publication} the new adventure was to be undertaken, and to be started. Cattermole was to be joined with Browne as its illustrator. Nor was its plan much modified before starting, though it was felt by us all that, for the opening numbers at least, Dickens would have to be sole contributor; and that, whatever otherwise might be its attraction, or the success of the detached papers proposed by him, some reinforcement of them from time to time, by means of a story with his name continued at reasonable if not regular intervals, would be found absolutely necessary. Without any such planned story, however, the work did actually begin; its course afterwards being determined by circumstances stronger than any project he had formed. The agreement, drawn up in contemplation of a mere miscellany of detached papers or essays, and in which no mention of any story appeared, was signed at the end of March; and its terms were such as to place him in his only proper and legitimate position in regard to all such contracts, of being necessarily a gainer in any case, and,

Nothing settled as to story by himself.

PETERSHAM: in the event of success, the greatest gainer of all concerned in the undertaking. All the risk of every kind was to be undergone by the publishers; and, as part of the expenses to be defrayed by them of each weekly number, he was to receive fifty pounds. Whatever the success or failure, this was always to be paid. The numbers were then to be accounted for separately, and half the realized profits paid to him, the other half going to the publishers; each number being held strictly responsible for itself, and the loss upon it, supposing any, not carried to the general account. The work was to be continued for twelve months certain, with leave to the publishers then to close it; but if they elected to go on, he was himself bound to the enterprise for five years, and the ultimate copyright as well as profit was to be equally divided.

LONDON. Six weeks before signature of this agreement, while a title was still undetermined, I had this letter from him. "I will dine with you. I intended to spend the evening in strict meditation (as I did last night); but perhaps I had better go out, lest all work and no play should make me a dull boy. I have a list of titles too, but the final title I have determined on—or something very near it. I have a notion of this

C. D.
to
J. F.

"old file in the queer house, opening the book
 "by an account of himself, and, among other
 "peculiarities, of his affection for an old quaint
 "queer-cased clock; showing how that when they
 "have sat alone together in the long evenings,
 "he has got accustomed to its voice, and come
 "to consider it as the voice of a friend; how its
 "striking, in the night, has seemed like an as-
 "surance to him that it was still a cheerful watcher
 "at his chamber-door; and how its very face has
 "seemed to have something of welcome in its
 "dusty features, and to relax from its grimness
 "when he has looked at it from his chimney-
 "corner. Then I mean to tell how that he has
 "kept odd manuscripts in the old, deep, dark,
 "silent closet where the weights are; and taken
 "them from thence to read (mixing up his enjoy-
 "ments with some notion of his clock); and how,
 "when the club came to be formed, they, by
 "reason of their punctuality and his regard for
 "this dumb servant, took their name from it.
 "And thus I shall call the book either *Old Humphrey's Clock*, or *Master Humphrey's Clock*;
 "beginning with a woodcut of old Humphrey
 "and his clock, and explaining the why and
 "wherefore. All Humphrey's own papers will be
 "dated then From my clock-side, and I have

LONDON:
 1839.
 O. D.
 to
 J. F.
 Notion for
 his hero.

LONDON: "divers thoughts about the best means of intro-
1889.
C. D. — ducing the others. I thought about this all day
to
J. F. "yesterday and all last night till I went to bed.
"I am sure I can make a good thing of this
Sanguine of "opening, which I have thoroughly warmed up to
success. "in consequence."

A few days later: "I incline rather more to
"*Master Humphrey's Clock* than *Old Humphrey's*
"— if so be that there is no danger of the pen-
"sive confounding master with a boy." After
two days more: "I was thinking all yesterday,
"and have begun at *Master Humphrey* to-day."
Then, a week later: "I have finished the first
"number, but have not been able to do more in
"the space than lead up to the Giants, who are
"just on the scene."

CHAPTER XII.

THE OLD CURIOSITY SHOP.

1840 AND 1841.

A DAY or two after the date of the last letter quoted, Dickens and his wife, with Maclige and myself, visited Landor in Bath, and it was during three happy days we passed together there that the fancy which was shortly to take the form of little Nell first occurred to its author.* But as

BATH:
1840.
Visit to
Landor.

* I have mentioned the fact in my *Life of Landor*; and to the passage I here add the comment made by Dickens when he read it. "It was at a celebration of his birthday in the First "first of his Bath lodgings, 35 St. James's-square, that the thought of "fancy which took the form of little Nell in the *Curiosity Shop* first dawned on the genius of its creator. No character in prose fiction was a greater favourite with Landor. "He thought that, upon her, Juliet might for a moment "have turned her eyes from Romeo, and that Desdemona "might have taken her hair-breadth escapes to heart, so interesting and pathetic did she seem to him; and when, some "years later, the circumstance I have named was recalled to "him, he broke into one of those whimsical bursts of comical

LONDON:
1840C. D.
to
J. F.

yet with the intention only of making out of it a tale of a few chapters. On the 1st of March we returned from Bath; and on the 4th I had this letter: "If you can manage to give me a call in "the course of the day or evening, I wish you "would. I am laboriously turning over in my "mind how I can best effect the improvement we "spoke of last night, which I will certainly make "by hook or by crook, and which I would like "you to see *before* it goes finally to the printer's. "I have determined not to put that witch-story "into number 3, for I am by no means satisfied

- "extravagance out of which arose the fancy of Boythorn. "With tremendous emphasis he confirmed the fact, and added "that he had never in his life regretted anything so much "as his having failed to carry out an intention he had formed "respecting it; for he meant to have purchased that house, "35 St. James's-square, and then and there to have burnt it "to the ground, to the end that no meaner association should "ever desecrate the birthplace of Nell. Then he would pause "a little, become conscious of our sense of his absurdity, and "break into a thundering peal of laughter." Dickens had himself proposed to tell this story as a contribution to my biography of our common friend, but his departure for America prevented him. "I see," he wrote to me, as soon as the published book reached him, "you have told, with what our "friend would have called *won-derful* accuracy, the little St. "James's-square story, which a certain faithless wretch was "to have related."

C. D.
to
J. F.
9th May,
1869.

"of the effect of its contrast with Humphrey. I LONDON:
"think of lengthening Humphrey, finishing the 1840.
"description of the society, and closing with the Hopeful of
"little child-story, which is SURE to be effective,
"especially after the old man's quiet way." Then
there came hard upon this: "What do you think
"of the following double title for the beginning
"of that little tale? '*PERSONAL ADVENTURES OF*
"*'MASTER HUMPHREY: The Old Curiosity Shop.'*
"I have thought of *Master Humphrey's Tale*,
Master Humphrey's Narrative, *A Passage in*
Master Humphrey's Life—but I don't think any
"does as well as this. I have also thought of A title for
"*The Old Curiosity Dealer and the Child* instead his story.
"of *The Old Curiosity Shop*. Perpend. Topping
"waits."—And thus was taking gradual form,
with less direct consciousness of design on his
own part than I can remember in any other in-
stance of all his career, a story which was to add
largely to his popularity, more than any other of
his works to make the bond between himself and
his readers one of personal attachment, and very
widely to increase the sense entertained of his
powers as a pathetic as well as humorous writer.

He had not written more than two or three
chapters, when the capability of the subject for
more extended treatment than he had at first

LONDON: proposed to give to it pressed itself upon him,
1840. and he resolved to throw everything else aside,
devoting himself to the one story only. There

**First sale of
Master Hum-
phrey's Clock.** were other strong reasons for this. Of the first number of the *Clock* nearly seventy thousand

were sold; but with the discovery that there was no continuous tale the orders at once diminished, and a change must have been made even if the material and means for it had not been ready. There had been an interval of three numbers between the first and second chapters, which the society of Mr. Pickwick and the two Wellers made pleasant enough; but after the introduction of Dick Swiveller there were three consecutive chapters; and in the continued progress of the tale to its close there were only two more breaks, one between the fourth and fifth chapters and one between the eighth and ninth, pardonable and enjoyable now for the sake of Sam and his father. The re-introduction of these old favourites, it will have been seen, formed part of his original plan; of his abandonment of which his own description may be added, from his preface to the collected edition.

"The first chapter of this tale appeared in the
"fourth number of *Master Humphrey's Clock*, when
"I had already been made uneasy by the desul-
"tory character of that work, and when, I believe,

Its original
plan aban-
doned.

LONDON:
1840.

"my readers had thoroughly participated in the feeling. The commencement of a story was a great satisfaction to me, and I had reason to believe that my readers participated in this feeling too. Hence, being pledged to some interruptions and some pursuit of the original design, I set cheerfully about disentangling myself from those impediments as fast as I could; and, "this done, from that time until its completion *The Old Curiosity Shop* was written and published "from week to week, in weekly parts."

To be limited to
one story.

He had very early himself become greatly taken with it. "I am very glad indeed," he wrote to me after the first half-dozen chapters, "that "you think so well of the *Curiosity Shop*, and "especially that what may be got out of Dick "strikes you. I *mean* to make much of him. "I feel the story extremely myself, which I take "to be a good sign; and am already warmly interested in it. I shall run it on now for four "whole numbers together, to give it a fair chance." Every step lightened the road as it became more and more real with each character that appeared in it, and I still recall the glee with which he told me what he intended to do not only with Dick Swiveller, but with Septimus Brass, changed afterwards to Sampson. Undoubtedly, however, Dick'

Dick
Swiveller.

LONDON:
1840.

was his favourite. "Dick's behaviour in the matter of Miss Wackles will, I hope, give you satisfaction," is the remark of another of his letters. "I cannot yet discover that his aunt has any belief in him, or is in the least degree likely to send him a remittance, so that he will probably continue to be the sport of destiny." His difficulties were the quickly recurring times of publication, the confined space in each number that yet had to contribute its individual effect, and (from the suddenness with which he had begun) the impossibility of getting in advance. "I was obliged to cramp most dreadfully what I thought a pretty idea in the last chapter. I hadn't room to turn": to this or a similar effect his complaints are frequent, and of the vexations named it was by far the worst. But he steadily bore up against all, and made a triumph of the little story.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
17th June.

To help his work he went twice to Broadstairs, in June and in September. From this he wrote to me (17th June): "It's now four o'clock and I have been at work since half-past eight. "I have really dried myself up into a condition which would almost justify me in pitching off the cliff, head first—but I must get richer before I indulge in a crowning luxury. Number 15,

"which I began to-day, I anticipate great things
 "from. There is a description of getting gra-
 "dually out of town, and passing through neigh-
 "bourhoods of distinct and various characters,
 "with which, if I had read it as anybody else's
 "writing, I think I should have been very much
 "struck. The child and the old man are on their
 "journey of course, and the subject is a very
 "pretty one." Between these two Broadstairs visits
 he wrote to me: "I intended calling on you this
 "morning on my way back from Bevis-marks,
 "whither I went to look at a house for Sampson
 "Brass. But I got mingled up in a kind of social
 "paste with the jews of Houndsditch, and roamed
 "about among them till I came out in Moorfields,
 "quite unexpectedly. So I got into a cab, and
 "came home again, very tired, by way of the
 "city-road." At the opening of September he was
 again at Broadstairs. The residence he most
 desired there, Fort-house, stood prominently at
 the top of a breezy hill on the road to Kingsgate,
 with a corn-field between it and the sea, and this
 in many subsequent years he always occupied;
 but he was fain to be content, as yet, with Lawn-
 house, a smaller villa between the hill and the
 corn-field, from which he now wrote of his atten-
 tions to Mr. Sampson Brass's sister. "I have been Sally Brass.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1840.
The old man's
flight from
London.

In Bevis-
marks.

BROAD-
STAIRS;
1840.

"at work of course" (2nd September) "and have just finished a number. I have effected a reform by virtue of which we breakfast at a quarter before eight, so that I get to work at half-past, and am commonly free by one o'clock or so, which is a great happiness. Dick is now Sampson's clerk, and I have touched Miss Brass in "Number 25, lightly, but effectively I hope."

At this point it became necessary to close the first volume of the *Clock*, which was issued accordingly with a dedication to Rogers, and a preface to which allusion will be made hereafter. "I have opened the second volume," he wrote to me on the 9th of September, "with Kit; and I saw this morning looking out at the sea, as if a veil had been lifted up, an affecting thing that I can do with him bye and bye. Nous verrons." "I am glad you like that Kit number," he wrote twelve days later, "I thought you would. I have altered that about the opera-going. Of course I had no intention to delude the many-headed into a false belief concerning opera nights, but merely to specify a class of senators. I needn't have done it, however, for God knows they're pretty well all alike." This referred to an objection made by me to something he had written of "opera-going senators on Wednesday nights;"

Chapter 38.

Changes in
proofs.

and, of another change made in compliance with some other objection of mine, he wrote on the 4th of October: "You will receive the proof here-
Chapter 42.
"with. I have altered it. You must let it stand
"now. I really think the dead mankind a million
"fathoms deep, the best thing in the sentence. I
"have a notion of the dreadful silence down
"there, and of the stars shining down upon
"their drowned eyes—the fruit, let me tell you,
"of a solitary walk by starlight on the cliffs.
"As to the child-image I have made a note of it
"for alteration. In number thirty there will be
"some cutting needed, I think. I have, however,
"something in my eye near the beginning which
"I can easily take out. You will recognize a
"description of the road we travelled between
"Birmingham and Wolverhampton: but I had con-
"ceived it so well in my mind that the execution
"doesn't please me quite as well as I expected. I
Chapters 43-45.
"shall be curious to know whether you think
"there's anything in the notion of the man and
"his furnace-fire. It would have been a good
"thing to have opened a new story with, I have
"been thinking since."

In the middle of October he returned to town, and by the end of the month he had so far advanced that the close of the story began to be not

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1840.

17 *

LONDON: far distant. "Tell me what you think," he had written just before his return, "of 36 and 37?

Dick and the Marchioness. "The way is clear for Kit now, and for a great effect at the last with the Marchioness." The last allusion I could not in the least understand, until I found, in the numbers just sent me, those exquisite chapters of the tale, the 57th and 58th, in which Dick Swiveller realizes his threat to Miss Wackles, discovers the small creature that his destiny is expressly saving up for him, dubs her Marchioness, and teaches her the delights of hot purl and cribbage. This is comedy of the purest kind; its great charm being the good-hearted fellow's kindness to the poor desolate child hiding itself under cover of what seems only mirth and fun. Altogether, and because of rather than in spite of his weaknesses, Dick is a captivating person. His gaiety and good humour survive such accumulations of "staggerers," he makes such discoveries of the "rosy" in the very smallest of drinks, and becomes himself by his solacements of verse such a "perpetual grand Apollo," that his failings are all forgiven; and hearts resolutely shut against victims of destiny in general, open themselves freely to Dick Swiveller.

At the opening of November, there seems to have been a wish on Maclise's part to try his hand

Masterpiece
of kindly fun.

at an illustration for the story; but I do not remember that it bore other fruit than a very pleasant day at Jack Straw's-castle, where Dickens read one of the later numbers to us. "Macrise and myself (alone in the carriage)," he wrote, "will be with you at two exactly. We propose driving out to Hampstead and walking there, if "it don't rain in buckets'-full. I shan't send Brad-burys' the MS. of next number till to-morrow, for "it contains the shadow of the number after that, "and I want to read it to Mac, as, if he likes the "subject, it will furnish him with one, I think. "You can't imagine (gravely I write and speak) "how exhausted I am to-day with yesterday's "labours. I went to bed last night utterly dis-pirited and done up. All night I have been "pursued by the child; and this morning I am "unrefreshed and miserable. I don't know what "to do with myself... I think the close of the "story will be great." Connected with the same design on Macrise's part there was another reading, this time at my house, and of the number shadowed forth by what had been read at Hampstead. "I will bring the MS," he writes on the 12th of November, "and, for Mac's information if "needful, the number before it. I have only this moment put the finishing touch to it. The difficulty

LONDON:
1840.

C. D.
to
J. F.

*Closing of
the tale.*

LONDON: "has been tremendous—the anguish unspeakable.
1840.
Effect upon
the writer. "I didn't say six. Therefore dine at half-past five
"like a Christian. I shall bring Mac at that hour."

C. D.
to
J. F.

Making-
believe very
much.

He had sent me, shortly before, the chapters in which the Marchioness nurses Dick in his fever, and puts his favourite philosophy to the hard test of asking him whether he has ever put pieces of orange-peel into cold water and made believe it was wine. "If you make believe very much it's "quite nice; but if you don't, you know, it hasn't "much flavour:" so it stood originally, and to the latter word in the little creature's mouth I seem to have objected. Replying (on the 16th of December) he writes: "'If you make believe very "much it's quite nice; but if you don't, you know, "'it seems as if it would bear a little more sea- "'soning, certainly.' I think that's better. Flavour "is a common word in cookery, and among cooks, "and so I used it. The part you cut out in the "other number, which was sent me this morning, "I had put in with a view to Quilp's last appear- "ance on any stage, which is casting its shadow "upon my mind; but it will come well enough "without such a preparation, so I made no change. "I mean to shirk Sir Robert Inglis, and work to- "night. I have been solemnly revolving the general "story all this morning. The forty-fifth number

"will certainly close. Perhaps this forty-first which LONDON:
"I am now at work on, had better contain the an- 1840.
"nouncement of *Barnaby*? I am glad you like The end ap-
"Dick and the Marchioness in that sixty-fourth proaching
"chapter—I thought you would."

Fast shortening as the life of little Nell was now, the dying year might have seen it pass away; but I never knew him wind up any tale with such a sorrowful reluctance as this. He caught at any excuse to hold his hand from it, and stretched to the utmost limit the time left to complete it in. Christmas interposed its delays too, so that twelfth-night had come and gone when I wrote to him in the belief that he was nearly done. "Done!" he wrote back to me on Friday the 7th, "Done!!! "Why bless you, I shall not be done till Wednesday night. I only began yesterday, and this part of the story is not to be galloped over, I can tell you. I think it will come famously—but I am the wretchedest of the wretched. It casts the most horrible shadow upon me, and it is as much as I can do to keep moving at all. I tremble to approach the place a great deal more than Kit; a great deal more than Mr. Garland; a great deal more than the Single Gentleman. I shan't recover it for a long time. Nobody will miss her like I shall. It is such a very painful thing to

C. D.
to
J. F.
7th Jan
1841.

LONDON: "me, that I really cannot express my sorrow. Old
1841.

Death of Little Nell. "wounds bleed afresh when I only think of the
"way of doing it: what the actual doing it will
"be, God knows. I can't preach to myself the
"schoolmaster's consolation, though I try. Dear

A personal sorrow. "- "Mary died yesterday, when I think of this sad
"story. I don't know what to say about dining
"to-morrow—perhaps you'll send up to-morrow
"morning for news? That'll be the best way. I
"have refused several invitations for this week
"and next, determining to go nowhere till I had
"done. I am afraid of disturbing the state I have
"been trying to get into, and having to fetch it
"all back again." He had finished, all but the
last chapter, on the Wednesday named; that was
the 12th of January; and on the following night
he read to me the two chapters of Nell's death,
the 71st and 72nd, with the result described in
a letter to me of the following Monday, the 17th
January 1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.
17th Jan. "I can't help letting you know how much your
"yesterday's letter pleased me. I felt sure you
"liked the chapters when we read them on Thurs-
"day night, but it was a great delight to have
"my impression so strongly and heartily con-
"firmed. You know how little value I should set
"on what I had done, if all the world cried out

"that it was good, and those whose good opinion
"and approbation I value most were silent. The as-
"surance that this little closing of the scene touches
"and is felt by you so strongly, is better to me
"than a thousand most sweet voices out of doors.
"When I first began, *on your valued suggestion*, to
"keep my thoughts upon this ending of the tale, I
"resolved to try and do something which might be
"read by people about whom Death had been,
"with a softened feeling, and with consolation...
"After you left last night, I took my desk upstairs;
"and writing until four o'clock this morning,
"finished the old story. It makes me very melan-
"choly to think that all these people are lost
"to me for ever, and I feel as if I never could
"become attached to any new set of characters."
The words printed in italics, as underlined by
himself, give me my share in the story which had
gone so closely to his heart. I was responsible
for its tragic ending. He had not thought of
killing her, when, about half way through, I asked
him to consider whether it did not necessarily
belong even to his own conception, after taking
so mere a child through such a tragedy of sor-
row, to lift her also out of the commonplace of
ordinary happy endings, so that the gentle pure
little figure and form should never change to the

LONDON:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

The end.
17 Jan.
4 a. m.

A suggestion
adopted by
him.

LONDON: fancy. All that I meant he seized at once, and
1841. never turned aside from it again.

Success of
the story.

Its charac-
teristics.

Useful
lessons.

The published book was an extraordinary success, and, in America more especially, very greatly increased the writer's fame. The pathetic vein it had opened was perhaps mainly the cause of this, but opinion at home continued still to turn on the old characteristics; the freshness of humour of which the pathos was but another form and product, the grasp of reality with which character had again been seized, the discernment of good under its least attractive forms and of evil in its most captivating disguises, the cordial wisdom and sound heart, the enjoyment and fun, luxuriant yet under proper control. No falling-off was found in these, and I doubt if any of his people have been more widely liked than Dick Swiveller and the Marchioness. The characters generally indeed work out their share in the purpose of the tale; the extravagances of some of them help to intensify its meaning; and the sayings and doings of the worst and the best alike have their point and applicability. Many an oversuspicious person will find advantage in remembering what a too liberal application of Foxey's principle of suspecting everybody brought Mr. Sampson Brass to; and many an overhasty judg-

ment of poor human nature will unconsciously be checked, when it is remembered that Mr. Christopher Nubbles *did* come back to work out that shilling.

LONDON:
1841.

But the main idea and chief figure of the piece constitute its interest for most people, and give it rank upon the whole with the most attractive productions of English fiction. I am not acquainted with any story in the language more adapted to strengthen in the heart what most needs help and encouragement, to sustain kindly and innocent impulses, and to awaken everywhere - the sleeping germs of good. It includes necessarily much pain, much uninterrupted sadness; and yet the brightness and sunshine quite overtop the gloom. The humour is so benevolent; the view of errors that have no depravity of heart in them is so indulgent; the quiet courage under calamity, the purity that nothing impure can soil, are so full of tender teaching. Its effect as a mere piece of art, too, considering the circumstances in which I have shown it to be written, I think very noteworthy. It began with a plan for but a short half dozen chapters; it grew into a full-proportioned story under the warmth of the feeling it had inspired its writer with; its very incidents created a necessity at first not seen;

Constructed
bit by bit.

LONDON:
1841.

and it was carried to a close only contemplated after a full half of it had been written. Yet, from the opening of the tale to that undesigned ending; from the image of little Nell asleep amid the quaint grotesque figures of the old curiosity warehouse, to that other final sleep she takes among the grim forms and carvings of the old church aisle; the main purpose seems to be always present. The characters and incidents that at first appear most foreign to it, are found to have had with it a close relation. The hideous lumber and rottenness that surround the child in her grandfather's home, take shape again in Quilp and his filthy gang. In the first still picture of Nell's innocence in the midst of strange and alien forms, we have the forecast of her after-wanderings, her patient miseries, her sad maturity of experience before its time. Without the show-people and their blended fictions and realities, their waxworks, dwarfs, giants, and performing dogs, the picture would have wanted some part of its significance. Nor could the genius of Hogarth himself have given it higher expression than in the scenes by the cottage door, the furnace fire, and the burial place of the old church, over whose tombs and gravestones hang the puppets of Mr. Punch's show while the exhibitors are

Harmony
of effect.

Fitness of
means.

Hogarthian.

mending and repairing them. And when, at last, ^{LONDON:}
^{1841.} Nell sits within the quiet old church where all her wanderings end, and gazes on those silent monumental groups of warriors; helmets, swords, and gauntlets wasting away around them; the associations among which her life had opened seem to have come crowding on the scene again, to be present at its close. But, stripped of their strangeness; deepened into solemn shapes by the suffering she has undergone; gently fusing every feeling of a life past into hopeful and familiar anticipation of a life to come; and already imperceptibly lifting her, without grief or pain, from the earth she loves, yet whose grosser paths her light steps only touched to show the track through them to Heaven. This is genuine art, and such as all cannot fail to recognize who read the book in a right sympathy with the conception that pervades it. Nor, great as the discomfort was of reading it in brief weekly snatches, can I be wholly certain that the discomfort of so writing it involved nothing but disadvantage. With so much in every portion to do, and so little space to do it in, the opportunities to a writer for mere self-indulgence were necessarily rare.

Of the innumerable tributes the story has received, and to none other by Dickens have more ^{A recent tribute.}

LONDON: or more various been paid, there is one, the very last, which has much affected me. Not many months before my friend's death, he had sent me two *Overland Monthlies* containing two sketches by a young American writer far away in California, "The Luck of Roaring Camp," and "The Outcasts of Poker Flat," in which he had found such subtle strokes of character as he had not anywhere else in late years discovered; the manner resembling himself, but the matter fresh to a degree that had surprised him; the painting in all respects masterly, and the wild rude thing painted a quite wonderful reality. I have rarely known him more honestly moved. A few months passed; telegraph wires flashed over the world that he had passed away on the 9th of June; and the young writer of whom he had then written to me, all unconscious of that praise, put his tribute of gratefulness and sorrow into the form of a poem called

* Verses by the same writer in June 1870. It embodies the same kind of incident which had so affected the master himself, in the papers to which I have referred; it shows the gentler influences, which, in even those Californian wilds, can restore outlawed "rearing camps" to silence and humanity; and there is

* Poems. By Bret Harte (Boston: Osgood & Co. 1871), pp. 32-5.

hardly any form of posthumous tribute which I can imagine likely to have better satisfied his desire of fame, than one which should thus connect, with the special favourite among all his heroines, the restraints and authority exerted by his genius over the rudest and least civilized of competitors in that far fierce race for wealth.

LONDON:
1841.

Above the pines the moon was slowly drifting,
The river sang below;

"Dickens
in Camp."

The dim Sierras, far beyond, uplifting
Their minarets of snow:

The roaring camp-fire, with rude humour, painted
The ruddy tints of health
On haggard face and form that drooped and fainted
In the fierce race for wealth;

Till one arose, and from his pack's soant treasure
A hoarded volume drew,
And cards were dropped from hands of listless leisure
To hear the tale anew;

And then, while round them shadows gathered faster,
And as the fire-light fell,
He read aloud the book wherein the Master
Had writ of "Little Nell:"

Perhaps 'twas boyish fancy,—for the reader
Was youngest of them all,—
But, as he read, from clustering pine and cedar
A silence seemed to fall;

LONDON:
1841.
"Dickens
in Camp."

The fir-trees, gathering closer in the shadows,
Listened in every spray,
While the whole camp, with "Nell" on English meadows,
Wandered and lost their way:

And so in mountain solitudes—o'er taken
As by some spell divine—
Their cares dropped from them like the needles shaken
From out the gusty pine.

Lost is that camp, and wasted all its fire;
And he who wrought that spell?—
Ah, towering pine and stately Kentish spire,
Ye have one tale to tell!

Lost is that camp! but let its fragrant story
Blend with the breath that thrills
With hop-vines' incense all the pensive glory
That fills the Kentish hills.

And on that grave where English oak and holly
And laurel wreaths entwine,
Deem it not all a too presumptuous folly,—
This spray of Western pine!

July, 1870.

END OF VOL. I.

PRINTING OFFICE OF THE PUBLISHER.



COLLECTION
OF
BRITISH AUTHORS

TAUCHNITZ EDITION.

VOL. 1204.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES DICKENS BY J. FORSTER.

VOL. II.

OF CHARLES DICKENS.

loser in the shadows,

ell" on English me:

s shaken

THE LIFE
OF
CHARLES DICKENS.

BY
JOHN FORSTER.

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VOL. II.

LEIPZIG
BERNHARD TAUCHNITZ
1872.

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THE
LIFE OF CHARLES DICKENS.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEVONSHIRE TERRACE AND BROADSTAIRS.

1840.

IT was an excellent saying of the first Lord Shaftesbury, that, seeing every man of any capacity holds within himself two men, the wise and the foolish, each of them ought freely to be allowed his turn; and it was one of the secrets of Dickens's social charm that he could, in strict accordance with this saying, allow each part of him its turn: could afford thoroughly to give rest and relief to what was serious in him; and, when the time came to play his gambols, could surrender himself wholly to the enjoyment of the time, and become the very genius and embodiment of one of his own most whimsical fancies.

LONDON:
1840.

A good saying.

Turning back from the narrative of his last piece of writing to recall a few occurrences of the

LONDON:
1840.

Landor
mystified.

The mirth-
ful side of
Dickens.

A bold
proposal.

year during which it had occupied him, I find him at its opening in one of these humorous moods, and another friend, with myself, enslaved by its influence. "What on earth does it all "mean," wrote poor puzzled Mr. Landor to me, enclosing a letter from him of the date of the 11th of February, the day after the royal nuptials of that year. In this he had related to our old friend a wonderful hallucination arising out of that event, which had then taken entire possession of him. "Society is unhinged here," thus ran the letter, "by her majesty's marriage, and I am sorry "to add that I have fallen hopelessly in love with "the Queen, and wander up and down with vague "and dismal thoughts of running away to some "uninhabited island with a maid of honor, to be "entrapped by conspiracy for that purpose. Can "you suggest any particular young person, serving "in such a capacity, who would suit me? It is "too much perhaps to ask you to join the band "of noble youths (Forster is in it, and Maclide) "who are to assist me in this great enterprise, but "a man of your energy would be invaluable. I "have my eye upon Lady . . . , principally because "she is very beautiful and has no strong brothers. "Upon this, and other points of the scheme, how- "ever, we will confer more at large when we

"meet; and meanwhile burn this document, that LONDON:
"no suspicion may arise or rumour get abroad." 1840.

The maid of honor and the uninhabited island were flights of fancy, but the other daring delusion was for a time encouraged to such whimsical lengths, not alone by him, but (under his influence) by the two friends named, that it took the wildest forms of humorous extravagance; and of the private confidences much interchanged, as well as of the style of open speech in which our joke of despairing unfitness for any further use or enjoyment of life was unflaggingly kept up, to the amazement of bystanders knowing nothing of what it meant, and believing we had half lost our senses, I permit myself to give from his letters one further illustration. "I am utterly lost in misery," he writes to me on the 12th of February, "and can do nothing. I have been reading *Oliver*, *Pickwick*, and *Nickleby* to get my thoughts together for the new effort, but all in vain:

C. D.
to
J. F.

"My heart is at Windsor,
"My heart isn't here;
"My heart is at Windsor,
"A following my dear.

"I saw the Responsibilities this morning, and burst into tears. The presence of my wife ag-

Despairing thoughts.

LONDON:
1840.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"gravates me. I loathe my parents. I detest my house. I begin to have thoughts of the Serpentine, of the regent's-canal, of the razors upstairs, "of the chemist's down the street, of poisoning "myself at Mrs.—'s table, of hanging myself "upon the pear-tree in the garden, of abstaining "from food and starving myself to death, of being "bled for my cold and tearing off the bandage, "of falling under the feet of cab-horses in the "New-road, of murdering Chapman and Hall and "becoming great in story (SHE must hear some- "thing of me then—perhaps sign the warrant: or "is that a fable?), of turning Chartist, of heading "some bloody assault upon the palace and saving "Her by my single hand—of being anything "but what I have been, and doing anything but "what I have done. Your distracted friend, C. D."

The wild derangement of asterisks in every shape and form, with which this incoherence closed, cannot here be given.

Riding
exercise.

Some ailments which dated from an earlier period in his life made themselves felt in the spring of the year, as I remember, and increased horse exercise was strongly recommended to him. "I find it will be positively necessary to go, for "five days in the week at least," he wrote to me in March, "on a perfect regimen of diet and exer-

"cise, and am anxious therefore not to delay LONDON:
"treating for a horse." We were now in conse-

1840.

quence, when he was not at the seaside, much on horseback in suburban lanes and roads; and the spacious garden of his new house was also turned to healthful use at even his busiest times of work.

I mark this, too, as the time when the first of his ravens took up residence there; and as the begin-

Grip: the
first of his
ravens.

ning of disputes with two of his neighbours about the smoking of the stable-chimney, which

his groom Topping, a highly absurd little man Groom
with flaming red hair, so complicated by secret Topping.

devices of his own, meant to conciliate each complainant alternately and having the effect of aggravating both, that law proceedings were only barely avoided. "I shall give you," he writes,

"my latest report of the chimney in the form of

"an address from Topping, made to me on our

"way from little Hall's at Norwood the other night,

"where he and Chapman and I had been walking all day, while Topping drove Kate, Mrs. Hall,

"and her sisters, to Dulwich. Topping had been

"regaled upon the premises, and was just drunk

"enough to be confidential. 'Beggin' your pardon,

"'sir, but the genelman next door sir, seems to

"'be gettin' quite comfortable and pleasant about

"'the chim'ley.'—'I don't think he is, Topping.'—

C. D.
to
J. F.

LONDON:
1840.

The smoky
chimneys.

"Yes he is sir I think. He comes out in the yard this morning and says, *Coachman* he says' (observe the vision of a great large fat man called up by the word) '*is that your raven* he says, *Coachman?* or is it *Mr. Dickens's raven?*' 'he says. My master's sir, I says. Well, he says, *It's a fine bird. I think the chimley 'ill do now Coachman,—now the jini's taken off the pipe* he says. I hope it will sir, I says; my master's a genelman as wouldn't annoy no genelman if he could help it, I'm sure; and my missis is so afraid of havin' a bit o' fire that o' Sundays our little bit o' weal or wot not, goes to the baker's a purpose.—*Damn the chimley, Coachman*, he says, *it's a smokin' now.—It a'nt a smokin' your way sir, I says; Well he says no more it is, Coachman, and as long as it smokes anybody else's way, it's all right and I'm agreeable.*' Of course I shall now have the man from the other side upon me, and very likely with an action of nuisance for smoking into his conservatory."

A graver incident, which occurred to him also among his earliest experiences as tenant of Devonshire-terrace, illustrates too well the always practical turn of his kindness and humanity not to deserve relation here. He has himself described

it, in one of his minor writings, in setting down what he remembered as the only good that ever came of a beadle. Of that great parish functionary, he says, "having newly taken the lease of a "house in a certain distinguished metropolitan "parish, a house which then appeared to me to "be a frightfully first-class family mansion involv- "ing awful responsibilities, I became the prey."

In other words he was summoned, and obliged Juryman
at an
inquest. to sit, as juryman at an inquest on the body of a little child alleged to have been murdered by its mother; of which the result was, that, by his persevering exertion, seconded by the humane help of the coroner, Mr. Wakley, the verdict of himself and his fellow-jurymen charged her only with concealment of the birth. "The poor desolate "creature dropped upon her knees before us with "protestations that we were right (protestations "among the most affecting that I have ever heard "in my life), and was carried away insensible. I Practical -
humanity. caused some extra care to be taken of her in "the prison, and counsel to be retained for her "defence when she was tried at the Old Bailey; "and her sentence was lenient, and her history "and conduct proved that it was right." How much he felt the little incident, at the actual time of its occurrence, may be judged from the few

LONDON: lines written to me next morning: "Whether it
1840 "was the poor baby, or its poor mother, or the
"coffin, or my fellow-jurymen, or what not, I can't
"say, but last night I had a most violent attack
"of sickness and indigestion which not only pre-
"vented me from sleeping, but even from lying
"down. Accordingly Kate and I sat up through
"the dreary watches."

BIRMINGHAM.
Publication
of the
Clock's first
number.

A holiday.

The day of the first publication of *Master Humphrey* (Saturday, 4th April) had by this time come, and, according to the rule observed in his two other great ventures, he left town with Mrs. Dickens on Friday the 3rd. With Maclise we had been together at Richmond the previous night; and I joined him at Birmingham the day following with news of the sale of the whole sixty thousand copies to which the first working had been limited, and of orders already in hand for ten thousand more! The excitement of the success somewhat lengthened our holiday; and, after visiting Shakespeare's house at Stratford and Johnson's at Lichfield, we found our resources so straitened in returning, that, employing as our messenger of need his younger brother Alfred, who had joined us from Tamworth where he was a student-engineer, we had to pawn our gold watches at Birmingham.

At the end of the following month he went to Broadstairs, and not many days before (on the 20th of May) a note from Mr. Jerdan on behalf of Mr. Bentley opened the negotiations formerly referred to,* which transferred to Messrs. Chapman and Hall the agreement for *Barnaby Rudge*. I was myself absent when he left, and in a letter announcing his departure he had written: "I "don't know of a word of news in all London, "but there will be plenty next week, for I am "going away, and I hope you'll send me an ac- "count of it. I am doubtful whether it will be a "murder, a fire, a vast robbery, or the escape of "Gould, but it will be something remarkable no "doubt. I almost blame myself for the death of "that poor girl who leaped off the monument "upon my leaving town last year. She would "not have done it if I had remained, neither "would the two men have found the skeleton in "the sewers." His prediction was quite accurate, for I had to tell him, after not many days, of the potboy who shot at the queen. "It's a great pity,"^{The potboy traitor.} he replied very sensibly, "they couldn't suffocate "that boy, Master Oxford, and say no more about "it. To have put him quietly between two

BROAD-
STAIRS.
1840.

Transfer of
Barnaby
Rudge
settled.

C. D.
to
J. F.

* See Vol. I. p. 204.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1840.

A true pre-
diction.

"feather-beds would have stopped his heroic speeches, and dulled the sound of his glory very much. As it is, she will have to run the gauntlet of many a fool and madman, some of whom may perchance be better shots and use other than Brummagem firearms." How much of this actually came to pass, the reader knows.

Habits of
order.

Revisiting
old scenes.

From the letters of his present Broadstairs visit, there is little further to add to their account of his progress with his story; but a couple more lines may be given for their characteristic expression of his invariable habit upon entering any new abode, whether to stay in it for days or for years. On a Monday night he arrived, and on the Tuesday (2nd of June) wrote to me: "*Before I tasted bit or drop yesterday, I set out my writing-table with extreme taste and neatness, and improved the disposition of the furniture generally.*" He stayed till the end of June; when Maclige and myself joined him for the pleasure of posting back home with him and Mrs. Dickens, by way of his favourite Chatham and Rochester and Cobham, where we passed two agreeable days in revisiting well-remembered scenes. I had meanwhile brought to a close the treaty for repurchase of *Oliver* and surrender of *Barnaby*, upon terms which are succinctly stated

in a letter written by him to Messrs. Chapman and Hall on the 2nd of July, the day after our return.

"The terms upon which you advance the money "to-day for the purchase of the copyright and "stock* of *Oliver* on my behalf, are understood "between us to be these. That this 2250*l.* is to "be deducted from the purchase-money of a work "by me entitled *Barnaby Rudge*, of which two "chapters are now in your hands, and of which "the whole is to be written within some con- "venient time to be agreed upon between us. "But if it should not be written (which God for- "bid!) within five years, you are to have a lien "to this amount on the property belonging to me "that is now in your hands, namely, my shares "in the stock and copyright of *Sketches by Boz*, "The *Pickwick Papers*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Oliver* "Twist and *Master Humphrey's Clock*; in which

C. D.
to
Chapman
and Hall.

* By way of a novelty to help off the stock he had suggested (17th June): "Would it not be best to print new title- "pages to the copies in sheets and publish them as a new "edition, with an interesting Preface? I am talking about "all this as though the treaty were concluded, but I hope "and trust that in effect it is, for negotiation and delay are "worse to me than drawn daggers." See my remark Vol. I. p. 153.

LONDON:
1840.

Terms of
sale of
Barnaby.

A gift.

"we do not include any share of the current pro-
"fits of the last-named work, which I shall re-
"main at liberty to draw at the times stated in
"our agreement. Your purchase of *Barnaby*
"*Rudge* is made upon the following terms. It is
"to consist of matter sufficient for ten monthly
"numbers of the size of *Pickwick* and *Nickleby*,
"which you are however at liberty to divide and
"publish in fifteen smaller numbers if you think
"fit. The terms for the purchase of this edition
"in numbers, and for the copyright of the whole
"book for six months after the publication of the
"last number, are 3000*l*. At the expiration of
"the six months the whole copyright reverts to
"me." The sequel was, as all the world knows,
that Barnaby became successor to little Nell, the
money being repaid by the profits of the *Clock*;
but I ought to mention also the more generous
sequel that my own small service had, on my
receiving from him, after not many days, an
antique silver-mounted jug of great beauty of form
and workmanship, but with a wealth far beyond
jeweller's chasing or artist's design in the written
words that accompanied it.* I accepted them to

* "Accept from me" (July 8th, 1840), "as a slight me-
"morial of your attached companion, the poor keepsake

commemorate, not the help they would have far overpaid, but the gladness of his own escape from the last of the agreements that had hampered the opening of his career, and the better future that was now before him.

At the opening of August he was with Mrs. Dickens for some days in Devonshire, on a visit to his father, but he had to take his work with him; and, as he wrote to me, they had only one real holiday, when Dawlish, Teignmouth, Babacombe, and Torquay were explored, returning to Exeter at night. In the beginning of September he was again at Broadstairs.

"which accompanies this. My heart is not an eloquent one
"on matters which touch it most, but suppose this claret jug
"the urn in which it lies, and believe that its warmest and
"truest blood is yours. This was the object of my fruitless
"search, and your curiosity, on Friday. At first I scarcely
"knew what trifle (you will deem it valuable, I know, for
"the giver's sake) to send you; but I thought it would be
"pleasant to connect it with our jovial moments, and to let
"it add, to the wine we shall drink from it together, a flavor
"which the choicest vintage could never impart. Take it
"from my hand—filled to the brim and running over with
"truth and earnestness. I have just taken one parting look
"at it, and it seems the most elegant thing in the world to
"me, for I lose sight of the vase in the crowd of welcome
"associations that are clustering and wreathing themselves
"about it."

BROAD-
STAIRS;
1840.
Escape
from
bondage.

C. D.
to
J. F.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1840.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Published
libels about
him.

Stated to
be insane.

C. D. log.

"I was just going to work," he wrote on the 9th, "when I got this letter, and the story of the "man who went to Chapman and Hall's knocked "me down flat. I wrote until now (a quarter to "one) against the grain, and have at last given it "up for one day. Upon my word it is intolerable. "I have been grinding my teeth all the morning. "I think I could say in two lines something about "the general report with propriety. I'll add them "to the proof" (the preface to the first volume of the *Clock* was at this time in preparation), "giving "you full power to cut them out if you should "think differently from me, and from C and H, "who in such a matter must be admitted judges." He refers here to a report, rather extensively circu- lated at the time, and which through various channels had reached his publishers, that he was suffering from loss of reason and was under treat- ment in an asylum.* I would have withheld

* Already he had been the subject of similar reports on the occasion of the family sorrow which compelled him to suspend the publication of *Pickwick* for two months (Vol. I. p. 148), when, upon issuing a brief address in resuming his work (30th June, 1837), he said: "By one set of intimate "acquaintances, especially well-informed, he has been killed "outright; by another, driven mad; by a third, imprisoned "for debt; by a fourth, sent per steamer to the United-

from him the mention of it, as an absurdity that must quickly pass away—but against my wish it had been communicated to him, and I had difficulty in keeping within judicious bounds his extreme and very natural wrath.

A few days later (the 15th) he wrote: "I have ^{Other similar reports.}" been rather surprised of late to have applications from roman-catholic clergymen, demanding "(rather pastorally, and with a kind of grave authority) assistance, literary employment, and so forth. At length it struck me, that, through some channel or other, I must have been represented as belonging to that religion. Would you believe, that in a letter from Lamert at Cork, to my mother, which I saw last night, he says "What do the papers mean by saying that Charles "is demented, and further, *that he has turned "roman-catholic?*"—!" Of the begging-letter-writers, hinted at here, I ought earlier to have said something. In one of his detached essays ^{Begging-letter-writers.} he has described, without a particle of exaggeration, the extent to which he was made a victim

"States; by a fifth, rendered incapable of mental exertion "for evermore; by all, in short, represented as doing anything but seeking in a few weeks' retirement the restoration "of that cheerfulness and peace of which a sad bereavement "had temporarily deprived him."

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1840.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1840.

A donkey
asked for.

Mr. Kind-
heart.

by this class of swindler, and the extravagance of the devices practised on him; but he has not confessed, as he might, that for much of what he suffered he was himself responsible, by giving so largely, as at first he did, to almost every one who applied to him. What at last brought him to his senses in this respect, I think, was the request made by the adventurer who had exhausted every other expedient, and who desired finally, after describing himself reduced to the condition of a travelling Cheap Jack in the smallest way of crockery, that a donkey might be left out for him next day, which he would duly call for. This I perfectly remember, and I much fear that the applicant was the Daniel Tobin before mentioned.*

Many and delightful were other letters written from Broadstairs at this date, filled with whimsical talk and humorous description relating chiefly to an eccentric friend who stayed with him most of the time, and is sketched in one of his published papers as Mr. Kindheart; but all too private for reproduction now. He returned in the middle of October, when we resumed our almost daily ridings, foregatherings with Maclise at Hampstead and elsewhere, and social entertainments with

* See Vol. I. p. 98-99.

Macready, Talfourd, Procter, Stanfield, Fonblanque, LONDON:
Elliotson, Tennent, d'Orsay, Quin, Harness, Wilkie, 1841.
Edwin Landseer, Rogers, Sydney Smith, and Bul-
wer. Of the genius of the author of *Pelham* and
Eugene Aram he had, early and late, the highest
admiration, and he took occasion, to express it
during the present year in a new preface which
he published to *Oliver Twist*. Other friends
became familiar in later years; but, disinclined as
he was to the dinner invitations that reached him
from every quarter, all such meetings with those
whom I have named, and in an especial manner
the marked attentions shown him by Miss Coutts
which began with the very beginning of his career,
were invariably welcome.

To speak here of the pleasure his society af-
forded, would anticipate the fitter mention to be
made hereafter. But what in this respect distin-
guishes nearly all original men, he possessed emi-
nently. His place was not to be filled up by any
other. To the most trivial talk he gave the attrac-
tion of his own character. It might be a small
matter; something he had read or observed during
the day, some quaint odd fancy from a book, a
vivid little outdoor picture, the laughing exposure
of some imposture, or a burst of sheer mirthful
enjoyment; but of its kind it would be something

LONDON: unique, because genuinely part of himself. This, and his unwearying animal spirits, made him the most delightful of companions; no claim on good-fellowship ever found him wanting; and no one so constantly recalled to his friends the description Johnson gave of Garrick, as the cheerfulness man of his age.

Ballads of Seven-dials.

Reconciling friends.

Of what occupied him in the way of literary labour in the autumn and winter months of the year, some description has been given; and, apart from what has already thus been said of his work at the closing chapters of *The Old Curiosity Shop*, nothing now calls for more special allusion, except that in his town-walks in November, impelled thereto by specimens recently discovered in his country-walks between Broadstairs and Ramsgate, he thoroughly explored the ballad literature of Seven-dials, and took to singing himself, with an effect that justified his reputation for comic singing in his childhood, not a few of these wonderful productions. His last successful labour of the year was the reconciliation of two friends; and his motive, as well as the principle that guided him, as they are described by himself, I think worth preserving. For the first: "In the midst of "this child's death, I, over whom something of "the bitterness of death has passed, not lightly

LONDON:
1841.

"perhaps, was reminded of many old kindnesses,
"and was sorry in my heart that men who really
"liked each other should waste life at arm's
"length." For the last: "I have laid it down as a
"rule in my judgment of men, to observe narrowly
"whether some (of whom one is disposed to think
"badly) don't carry all their faults upon the sur-
"face, and others (of whom one is disposed to Hint for
"think well) don't carry many more beneath it. men.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"I have long ago made sure that our friend is in
"the first class; and when I know all the foibles
"a man has, with little trouble in the discovery,
"I begin to think he is worth liking." His latest
letter of the year, dated the day following, closed
with the hope that we might, he and I, enjoy to-
gether "fifty more Christmases, at least, in this
"world, and eternal summers in another." Alas!

CHAPTER XIV.

BARNABY RUDGE.

1841.

LONDON:
1841.

THE letters of 1841 yield similar fruit as to his doings and sayings, and may in like manner first be consulted for the literary work he had in hand.

C. D.
to
J. F.

He had the advantage of beginning *Barnaby Rudge* with a fair amount of story in advance, which he had only to make suitable, by occasional readjustment of chapters, to publication in weekly portions; and on this he was engaged before the end of January. "I am at present" (22nd January, 1841) "in what Leigh Hunt would call a kind of impossible state—thinking what 'on earth Master Humphrey can think of through 'four mortal pages. I added, here and there, to "the last chapter of the *Curiosity Shop* yesterday, "and it leaves me only four pages to write." (They were filled by a paper from Humphrey introductory of the new tale, in which will be found a striking picture of London, from midnight to the break of day.) "I also made up, and wrote

“the needful insertions for, the second number of LONDON:
1841.
Barnaby—so that I came back to the mill a Hard work.
 “little.” Hardly yet: for after four days he writes,
 having meanwhile done nothing: “I have been
 “looking (three o’clock) with an appearance of
 extraordinary interest and study at *one leaf* of the
“Curiosities of Literature ever since half-past ten
 “this morning—I haven’t the heart to turn over.”
 Then, on Friday the 29th, better news came. “I
 “didn’t stir out yesterday, but sat and *thought* all
 “day; not writing a line; not so much as the
 “cross of a t or dot of an i. I imaged forth a At work on
Barnaby.
 “good deal of *Barnaby* by keeping my mind
 “steadily upon him; and am happy to say I have
 “gone to work this morning in good twig, strong
 “hope, and cheerful spirits. Last night I was un-
 “utterably and impossible-to-form-an-idea-of-ably
 “miserable. . . . By the bye don’t engage yourself
 “otherwise than to me, for Sunday week, because
 “it’s my birthday. I have no doubt we shall have
 “got over our troubles here by that time, and I
 “purpose having a snug dinner in the study.”
 We had the dinner, though the troubles were not
 over; but the next day another son was born to A fourth child
and second
son born:
8 Feb.
 him. “Thank God,” he wrote on the 9th, “quite
 “well. I am thinking hard, and have just written
 “to Browne enquiring when he will come and
 “confer about the raven.” He had by this time

LONDON: resolved to make that bird, whose accomplishments had been daily ripening and enlarging for the last twelve months to the increasing mirth and delight of all of us, a prominent figure in *Barnaby*; and the invitation to the artist was for a conference how best to introduce him graphically.

The next letter mentioning *Barnaby* was from Brighton (25th February), whither he had flown for a week's quiet labour. "I have (it's four "o'clock) done a very fair morning's work, at "which I have sat very close, and been blessed "besides with a clear view of the end of the "volume. As the contents of one number usually "require a day's thought at the very least, and "often more, this puts me in great spirits. I think "—that is, I hope—the story takes a great stride "at this point, and takes it WELL. Nous verrons. "Grip will be strong, and I build greatly on the "Varden household."

A loss in the family. Upon his return he had to lament a domestic calamity, which, for its connection with that famous personage in *Barnaby*, must be mentioned here. The raven had for some days been ailing, and Topping had reported of him, as Shakespeare of Hamlet, that he had lost his mirth and foregone all customary exercises: but Dickens paid no great heed, remembering his recovery from an illness

of the previous summer when he swallowed some white paint; so that the graver report which led him to send for the doctor came upon him unexpectedly, and nothing but his own language can worthily describe the result. Unable from the state of his feelings to write two letters, he sent the narrative to Macrise, under an enormous black seal, for transmission to me; and thus it befell that this fortunate bird receives a double passport to fame, so great a humorist having celebrated his farewell to the present world, and so great a painter his welcome to another.

LONDON
1841.

"You will be greatly shocked" (the letter is dated Friday evening, March 12th, 1841) "and grieved to hear that the Raven is no more. He expired to-day at a few minutes after twelve o'clock at noon. He had been ailing for a few days, but we anticipated no serious result, conjecturing that a portion of the white paint he swallowed last summer might be lingering about his vitals without having any serious effect upon his constitution. Yesterday afternoon he was taken so much worse that I sent an express for the medical gentleman (Mr. Herring), who promptly attended, and administered a powerful dose of castor oil. Under the influence of this medicine, he recovered so far as to be able at eight o'clock p.m. to bite Topping. His night

C. D. de-
scribes his
illness.

LONDON:
1841.

"was peaceful. This morning at daybreak he ap-
"peared better; received (agreeably to the doctor's
"directions) another dose of castor oil; and par-
"took plentifully of some warm gruel, the flavor
"of which he appeared to relish. Towards eleven
"o'clock he was so much worse that it was found
"necessary to muffle the stable-knocker. At half-
"past, or thereabouts, he was heard talking to
"himself about the horse and Topping's family,
"and to add some incoherent expressions which
"are supposed to have been either a foreboding
"of his approaching dissolution, or some wishes
Disposal of his property. "relative to the disposal of his little property:
"consisting chiefly of half-pence which he had
"buried in different parts of the garden. On the
"clock striking twelve he appeared slightly agi-
"tated, but he soon recovered, walked twice or
"thrice along the coach-house, stopped to bark,
"staggered, exclaimed *Halloo old girl!* (his favou-
"rite expression), and died.

"He behaved throughout with a decent for-
"titude, equanimity, and self-possession, which
"cannot be too much admired. I deeply regret
"that being in ignorance of his danger I did not
"attend to receive his last instructions. Something
"remarkable about his eyes occasioned Topping
The doctor sent for. "to run for the doctor at twelve. When they re-
"turned together our friend was gone. It was the

“medical gentleman who informed me of his de-
“cease. He did it with great caution and delicacy,
“preparing me by the remark that ‘a jolly queer
“start had taken place;’ but the shock was very
“great notwithstanding. I am not wholly free
“from suspicions of poison. A malicious butcher suspicions.
“has been heard to say that he would ‘do’ for
“him: his plea was that he would not be molested
“in taking orders down the mews, by any bird
“that wore a tail. Other persons have also been
“heard to threaten: among others, Charles Knight,
“who has just started a weekly publication price
“fourpence: *Barnaby* being, as you know, three-
“pence. I have directed a post-mortem examina-
“tion, and the body has been removed to Mr.
“Herring’s school of anatomy for that purpose.

“I could wish, if you can take the trouble,
“that you could inclose this to Forster imme-
“diately after you have read it. I cannot discharge
“the painful task of communication more than
“once. Were they ravens who took manna to
“somebody in the wilderness? At times I hope
“they were, and at others I fear they were not, or
“they would certainly have stolen it by the way.
“In profound sorrow, I am ever your bereaved Family
mourners.
“friend C.D. Kate is as well as can be expected,
“but terribly low as you may suppose. The

LONDON: "children seem rather glad of it. He bit their
1841. "ancles. But that was play."
Death of raven.

Maclise's covering letter was an apotheosis, to be rendered only in facsimile.



In what way the loss was replaced, so that LONDON:
1841.
Barnaby should have the fruit of continued study Grip the
second. of the habits of the family of birds which Grip had so nobly represented, Dickens has told in the preface to the story; and another, older, and larger Grip, obtained through Mr. Smithson, was installed in the stable, almost before the stuffed remains of his honoured predecessor had been sent home in a glass case, by way of ornament to his master's study.

I resume our correspondence on what he was writing. "I see there is yet room for a few lines," (25th March) "and you are quite right in wishing "what I cut out to be restored. I did not want "Joe to be so short about Dolly, and really wrote "his references to that young lady carefully—as "natural things with a meaning in them. Chig—"well, my dear fellow, is the greatest place in the "world. Name your day for going. Such a de-^{The inn at Chigwell.}licious old inn opposite the churchyard—such a "lovely ride—such beautiful forest scenery—such "an out of the way, rural, place—such a sexton! "I say again, name your day." The day was named at once; and the whitest of stones marks it, in now sorrowful memory. His promise was exceeded by our enjoyment; and his delight in the double recognition, of himself and of *Barnaby*, ^{Reception there.}

C. D.
to
J. F.

LONDON: by the landlord of the nice old inn, far exceeded
any pride he would have taken in what the world
thinks the highest sort of honour.

Working alone. "I have shut myself up" (26th March) "by
"myself to-day, and mean to try and 'go it' at the
"*Clock*; Kate being out, and the house peacefully
"dismal. I don't remember altering the exact part
"you object to, but if there be anything here you
"object to, knock it out ruthlessly." "Don't fail"
(April the 5th) "to erase anything that seems to
"you too strong. It is difficult for me to judge
"what tells too much, and what does not. I am
"trying a very quiet number to set against this
"necessary one. I hope it will be good, but I am
"in very sad condition for work. Glad you think
"this powerful. What I have put in is more relief,
"from the raven." Two days later: "I have done
"that number and am now going to work on an-
"other. I am bent (please Heaven) on finishing
"the first chapter by Friday night. I hope to
"look in upon you to-night, when we'll dispose of
"the toasts for Saturday. Still bilious—but a
"good number, I hope, notwithstanding. Jeffrey
"has come to town and was here yesterday." The
toasts to be disposed of were those to be given
A "*Clock*" dinner. at the dinner on the 10th to celebrate the second
volume of *Master Humphrey*: when Talfourd pre-

sided, when there was much jollity, and, according to the memorandum drawn up that Saturday night now lying before me, we all in the greatest good humour glorified each other: Talfourd proposing the *Clock*, Macready Mrs. Dickens, Dickens the publishers, and myself the artists; Macready giving Talfourd, Talfourd Macready, Dickens, myself, and myself the comedian Mr. Harley, whose humorous songs had been the not least considerable element in the mirth of the evening.

LONDON:
1841.

Five days later he writes: "I finished the number yesterday, and, although I dined with Jeffrey, "and was obliged to go to Lord Denman's afterwards (which made me late), have done eight "slips of the *Lamplighter* for Mrs. Macrone, this "morning. When I have got that off my mind, "I shall try to go on steadily, fetching up the "Clock lee-way." The *Lamplighter* was his old farce,* which he now turned into a comic tale; and this, with other contributions given him by friends and edited by him as *Pic Nic Papers*, *Pic Nic Papers*, enabled him to help the widow of his old publisher in her straitened means by a gift of £300. He had finished his work of charity before he next wrote of *Barnaby Rudge*, but he was fetch-

Lord Jeffrey
in London.

The Lamplighter.

* See Vol. I. pp. 154 and 229.

LONDON: ing up his leeway lazily. "I am getting on" (29th
1841.) "very slowly. I want to stick to the
"story; and the fear of committing myself, be-
"cause of the impossibility of trying back or
"altering a syllable, makes it much harder than it

C. D.
to
J. F. "looks. It was too bad of me to give you the
"trouble of cutting the number, but I knew so
"well you would do it in the right places. For
"what Harley would call the 'onward work' I
"really think I have some famous thoughts."
There is an interval of a month before the next
allusion. "Solomon's expression" (3rd of June)
"I meant to be one of those strong ones to which
"strong circumstances give birth in the com-
"monest minds. Deal with it as you like. . . .

Character
of Lord
George
Gordon.
"Say what you please of Gordon" (I had objected
to some points in his view of this madman, stated
much too favourably as I thought), "he must have
"been at heart a kind man, and a lover of the
"despised and rejected, after his own fashion.
"He lived upon a small income, and always
"within it; was known to relieve the necessities
"of many people; exposed in his place the corrupt
"attempt of a minister to buy him out of Parlia-
"ment; and did great charities in Newgate. He
"always spoke on the people's side, and tried
"against his muddled brains to expose the pro-

“fligacy of both parties. He never got anything LONDON:
 “by his madness, and never sought it. The 1841.
 “wildest and most raging attacks of the time,
 “allow him these merits: and not to let him have
 “’em in their full extent, remembering in what a
 “(politically) wicked time he lived, would lie upon
 “my conscience heavily. The libel he was im-
 “prisoned for when he died, was on the queen
 “of France; and the French government interested
 “themselves warmly to procure his release—which
 “I think they might have done, but for Lord
 “Grenville.” I was more successful in the counsel
 I gave against a fancy he had at this part of the
 story, that he would introduce as actors in the A doubtful
 Gordon riots three splendid fellows who should
 order, lead, control, and be obeyed as natural
 guides of the crowd in that delirious time, and
 who should turn out, when all was over, to have
 broken out from Bedlam: but though he saw the
 unsoundness of this, he could not so readily see,
 in Gordon’s case, the danger of taxing ingenuity
 to ascribe a reasonable motive to acts of sheer
 insanity. The feeblest parts of the book are those —
 in which Lord George and his secretary appear.

He left for Scotland after the middle of June, From Edin-
 but he took work with him. “You may suppose,”
 he wrote from Edinburgh on the 30th, “I have
 burgh:
 C. D.
 to
 J. F.

LONDON:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"not done much work—but by Friday night's post from here I hope to send the first long chapter of a number and both the illustrations; "from Loch-earn on Tuesday night, the closing chapter of that number; from the same place on Thursday night, the first long chapter of another, with both the illustrations; and, from some place which no man ever spelt but which sounds like Ballyhoolish, on Saturday, the closing chapter of that number, which will leave us all safe till I return to town." Nine days later he wrote from "Ballechelish": "I have done all I can or need do in the way of *Barnaby* until I come home, and the story is progressing (I hope you will think) to good strong interest. I have left it, I think, at an exciting point, with a good dawning of the riots. In the first of the two numbers I have written since I have been away, I forget whether the blind man, in speaking to Barnaby about riches, tells him they are to be found in *crowds*. If I have not actually used that word, will you introduce it? A perusal of the proof of the following number (70) will show you how, and why." "Have you," he wrote, shortly after his return (29th July), "seen no. 71? I thought there was a good glimpse of a crowd, from a window

Interest in
his new
labour.

“—eh?” He had now taken thoroughly to the interest of his closing chapters, and felt more than ever the constraints of his form of publication. “I am warming up very much” (on the publication. LONDON:
1841. Constraints of weekly publication.) 5th August from Broadstairs) “about *Barnaby*. “Oh! If I only had him, from this time to the end, in monthly numbers. *N'importe!* I hope “the interest will be pretty strong—and, in every number, stronger.” Six days later, from the same place: “I was always sure I could make a “good thing of *Barnaby*, and I think you'll find “that it comes out strong to the last word. I “have another number ready, all but two slips. “Don't fear for young Chester. The time hasn't “come——there we go again, you see, with the “weekly delays. I am in great heart and spirits “with the story, and with the prospect of having “time to think before I go on again.” A month's interval followed, and what occupied it will be described shortly. On the 11th September he wrote: “I have just burnt into Newgate; and am The prison-
riots. going in the next number to tear the prisoners “out by the hair of their heads. The number “which gets into the jail you'll have in proof by “Tuesday.” This was followed up a week later: “I have let all the prisoners out of Newgate, “burnt down Lord Mansfield's, and played the

C. D.
to
J. F.

LONDON: "very devil. Another number will finish the fires,
1841. "and help us on towards the end. I feel quite
"smoky when I am at work. I want elbow-room
"terribly." To this trouble, graver supervened at
his return, a serious personal sickness not the
least; but he bore up gallantly, and I had never
better occasion than now to observe his quiet en-
durance of pain, how little he thought of himself
where the sense of self is commonly supreme,
and the manful duty with which everything was
done that, ailing as he was, he felt it necessary
to do. He was still in his sick-room (22nd Oc-
tober) when he wrote: "I hope I shan't leave off
"any more, now, until I have finished *Barnaby*."
Close of
Barnaby. Three days after that, he was busying himself
eagerly for others; and on the 2nd of November
the printers received the close of *Barnaby Rudge*.

**Character
of the book.**

This tale was Dickens's first attempt out of
the sphere of the life of the day and its actual
manners. Begun during the progress of *Oliver
Twist*, it had been for some time laid aside; the
form it ultimately took had been comprised only
partially within its first design; and the story in
its finished shape presented strongly a special
purpose, the characteristic of all but his very ear-
liest writings. Its scene is laid at the time when
the incessant execution of men and women, com-

paratively innocent, disgraced every part of the country; demoralizing thousands, whom it also prepared for the scaffold. In those days the theft of a few rags from a bleaching ground, or the abstraction of a roll of ribbons from a counter, was visited with the penalty of blood; and such laws brutalized both their ministers and victims. It was the time, too, when a false religious outcry brought with it appalling guilt and misery. These are vices that leave more behind them than the first forms assumed, and they involve a lesson sufficiently required to justify a writer in dealing with them. There were also others grafted on them. In Barnaby himself it was desired to show what sources of comfort there might be, for the patient and cheerful heart, in even the worst of all human afflictions; and in the hunted life of the outcast father, whose crime had entailed not that affliction only but other more fearful wretchedness, we have as powerful a picture as any in his writings of the inevitable and unfathomable consequences of sin. But, as the story went on, it was incident to these designs that what had been accomplished in its predecessor could hardly be attained here, in singleness of purpose, unity of idea, or harmony of treatment; and other defects supervened in the management of the plot. The

LONDON:
1841.

Lessons of
Barnaby
Rudge.

Defects in
the plot.

London:
1841.

The No-
Popery riots.

interest with which the tale begins, has ceased to be its interest before the close; and what has chiefly taken the reader's fancy at the outset, almost wholly disappears in the power and passion with which, in the later chapters, the great riots are described. So admirable is this description, however, that it would be hard to have to surrender it even for a more perfect structure of fable.

There are few things more masterly in any of his books. From the first low mutterings of the storm to its last terrible explosion, this frantic outbreak of popular ignorance and rage is depicted with unabated power. The aimlessness of idle mischief by which the ranks of the rioters are swelled at the beginning; the recklessness induced by the monstrous impunity allowed to the early excesses; the sudden spread of this drunken guilt into every haunt of poverty, ignorance, or mischief in the wicked old city, where the rich materials of crime lie festering; the wild action of its poison on all, without scheme or plan of any kind, who come within its reach; the horrors that are more bewildering for this complete absence of purpose in them; and, when all is done, the misery found to have been self-inflicted in every cranny and corner of London, as if a plague

Descriptive
power.

had swept over the streets: these are features in the picture of an actual occurrence, to which the manner of the treatment gives extraordinary force and meaning. Nor, in the sequel, is there anything displayed with more profitable vividness, than the law's indiscriminate cruelty at last, in contrast with its cowardly indifference at first; while, among the casual touches lighting up the scene with flashes of reality that illumine every part of it, may be instanced the discovery, in the quarter from which screams for succour are loudest when Newgate is supposed to be accidentally on fire, of four men who were certain in any case to have perished on the drop next day.

LONDON:
1841.

The story, which has unusually careful writing in it, and much manly upright thinking, has not so many people eagerly adopted as of kin by everybody, as its predecessors are famous for; but it has yet a fair proportion of such as take solid form within the mind, and keep hold of the memory. To these belong in an especial degree Gabriel Varden and his household, on whom are lavished all the writer's fondness, and not a little of his keenest humour. The honest locksmith with his jovial jug, and the tink-tink-tink of his pleasant nature making cheerful music out of steel and iron; the buxom wife, with her plaguy tongue

Principal
characters.

LONDON:
1841.

that makes every one wretched whom her kindly disposition would desire to make happy; the good hearted plump little Dolly, coquettish minx of a daughter, with all she suffers and inflicts by her fickle winning ways, and her small self-admiring vanities; and Miggs the vicious and slippery, acid, amatory, and of uncomfortable figure, sower of family discontents and discords, who swears all the while she wouldn't make or meddle with 'em.

Social satire. "not for a annual gold mine and found in tea "and sugar": there is not much social painting anywhere with a better domestic moral, than in all these; and a nice propriety of feeling and thought regulates the use of such satire throughout. No one knows more exactly how far to go with that formidable weapon; or understands better that what satirizes everything, in effect satirizes nothing.

Another excellent group is that which the story opens with, in the quaint old kitchen of the Maypole; John Willett and his friends, genuinely comic creations all of them. Then we have Barnaby and his raven: the light-hearted idiot, as unconscious of guilt as of suffering, and happy with no sense but of the influences of nature; and the grave sly bird, with sufficient sense to make himself as unhappy as rascally habits will make the.

Barnaby and
his raven.

LONDON:
1841.

human animal. There is poor brutish Hugh, too, loitering lazily outside the Maypole door, with a storm of passions in him raging to be let loose; already the scaffold's withered fruit, as he is doomed to be its ripe offering; and though with all the worst instincts of the savage, yet not without also some of the best. Still farther out of kindly nature's pitying reach lurks the worst villain of the scene: with this sole claim to consideration, that it was by constant contact with the filthiest instrument of law and state he had become the mass of moral filth he is. Mr. Dennis the hangman is a portrait that Hogarth would have painted with the same wholesome severity of satire which is employed upon it in *Barnaby Rudge*.

Dennis the
hangman.

CHAPTER XV.

PUBLIC DINNER IN EDINBURGH.

1841.

LONDON:
1841.

Son Walter. AMONG the occurrences of the year, apart from the tale he was writing, the birth of his fourth child and second son has been briefly mentioned. "I mean to call the boy Edgar," he wrote the day after he was born (9th February), "a good honest Saxon name, I think." He changed his mind in a few days, however, on resolving to ask Landor to be godfather. This intention, as soon as formed, he announced to our excellent old friend; telling him it would give the child something to boast of, to be called Walter Landor, and that to call him so would do his own heart good. For, as to himself, whatever realities had gone out of the ceremony of christening, the meaning still remained in it of enabling him to form a relationship with friends he most loved: and as to the boy, he held that to give him a name to be proud of was to give him also another reason for doing nothing unworthy or untrue when he came to be

a man. Walter alas! only lived to manhood. He obtained a military cadetship through the kindness of Miss Coutts, and died at Calcutta on the last day of 1863, in his 23rd year.

LONDON:
1841.
Dies in
Calcutta 1863.

The interest taken by this distinguished lady in him and in his had begun, as I have said, at an earlier date than even this; and I remember, while *Oliver Twist* was going on, his pleasure because of her father's mention of him in a speech at Birmingham, for his advocacy of the cause of the poor. Whether to the new poor-law Sir Francis Burdett objected as strongly as we have seen that Dickens did, as well as many other excellent men, who forgot the atrocities of the system it displaced in their indignation at the needless and cruel harshness with which it was worked at the outset, I have not at hand the means of knowing. But certainly this continued to be strongly the feeling of Dickens, who exulted in nothing so much as at any misadventure to the whigs in connection with it. "How often used Black and I," he wrote to me in April, "to quarrel about the effect of the C. D. and the new poor-law bill! Walter comes in upon the cry. 'See whether the whigs go out upon it.'" It was the strong desire he had to make himself heard upon it, even in parliament, that led him not immediately to turn aside from a proposal, now

LONDON:
1841.

Moore and
Rogers.

C. D.
to
J. F.

privately made by some of the magnates of Reading, to bring him in for that borough; but the notion was soon dismissed, as, on its revival more than once in later times, it continued very wisely to be. His opinions otherwise were extremely radical at present, as will be apparent shortly; and he did not at all relish Peel's majority of one when it came soon after, and unseated the whigs. It was just now, I may add, he greatly enjoyed a quiet setting-down of Moore by Rogers at Sir Francis Burdett's table, for talking exaggerated toryism. So debased was the house of commons by reform, said Moore, that a Burke, if you could find him, would not be listened to. "No such 'thing, Tommy," said Rogers; "*find yourself*, "and they'd listen even to you."

This was not many days before he hinted to me an intention soon to be carried out in a rather memorable manner. "I have done nothing to-day" (18th March: we had bought books together, the day before, at Tom Hill's sale) "but cut the *Swift*, "looking into it with a delicious laziness in all "manner of delightful places, and put poor Tom's "books away. I had a letter from Edinburgh this "morning, announcing that Jeffrey's visit to London will be the week after next; telling me that "he drives about Edinburgh declaring there has:

"been 'nothing so good as Nell since Cordelia,' LONDON:
1841.
 "which he writes also to all manner of people; Jeffrey's
praise of
little Nell.
 "and informing me of a desire in that romantic
 "town to give me greeting and welcome. For
 "this and other reasons I am disposed to make
 "Scotland my destination in June rather than Ire- Resolve
to visit
Scotland.
 "land. Think, *do* think, meantime (here are ten
 "good weeks), whether you couldn't, by some effort
 "worthy of the owner of the gigantic helmet, go
 "with us. Think of such a fortnight—York, Car-
 "lisle, Berwick, your own Borders, Edinburgh,
 "Rob Roy's country, railroads, cathedrals, country
 "inns, Arthur's-seat, lochs, glens, and home by
 "sea. DO think of this, seriously, at leisure." It
 was very tempting, but not to be.

Early in April Jeffrey came, many feasts and entertainments welcoming him, of which he very sparingly partook; and before he left, the visit to Scotland in June was all duly arranged, to be initiated by the splendid welcome of a public dinner in Edinburgh, with Lord Jeffrey himself in Edinburgh
dinner
proposed. the chair. Allan the painter had come up mean- while, with increasing note of preparation; and it was while we were all regretting Wilkie's absence abroad, and Dickens with warrantable pride was saying how surely the great painter would have gone to this dinner, that the shock of his sudden

LONDON: death * came, and there was left but the sorrowful satisfaction of honouring his memory.

1841.

Sir David Wilkie's death.
There was one other change before the day. "I heard "from Edinburgh this morning," he wrote on the 15th of June. "Jeffrey is not well enough to take "the chair, so Wilson does. I think under all "circumstances of politics, acquaintance, and *Edinburgh Review*, that it's much better as it is—"Don't you?"

EDINBURGH: His first letter from Edinburgh, where he and
23rd June. Mrs. Dickens had taken up quarters at the Royal-hotel on their arrival the previous night, is dated

C. D.
to
J. F.
the 23rd of June. "I have been this morning "to the Parliament-house, and am now introduced "(I hope) to everybody in Edinburgh. The hotel "is perfectly besieged, and I have been forced to "take refuge in a sequestered apartment at the "end of a long passage, wherein I write this letter. "They talk of 300 at the dinner. We are very "well off in point of rooms, having a handsome "sitting-room, another next to it for *Clock* pur- "poses, a spacious bed-room, and large dressing- "room adjoining. The castle is in front of the

* Dickens refused to believe it at first. "My heart ass- "sures me Wilkie liveth," he wrote. "He is the sort of "man who will be **VERY** old when he dies"—and certainly one would have said so.

"windows, and the view noble. There was a ~~EDINBURGH:~~
"supper ready last night which would have been ~~1841.~~
"a dinner anywhere." This was his first practical
experience of the honours his fame had won for
him, and it found him as eager to receive as all
were eager to give. Very interesting still, too, are
those who took leading part in the celebration;
and, in his pleasant sketches of them, there are
some once famous and familiar figures not so
well known to the present generation. Here, among
the first, are Wilson and Robertson.

"The renowned Peter Robertson is a large, ^{Peter}
~~Robertson.~~
"portly, full-faced man with a merry eye, and a
"queer way of looking under his spectacles which
"is characteristic and pleasant. He seems a very
"warm-hearted earnest man too, and I felt quite
"at home with him forthwith. Walking up and
"down the hall of the courts of law (which was
"full of advocates, writers to the signet, clerks,
"and idlers) was a tall, burly, handsome man of ^{Professor}
~~Wilson.~~
"eight and fifty, with a gait like O'Connell's, the
"bluest eye you can imagine, and long hair—
"longer than mine—falling down in a wild way
"under the broad brim of his hat. He had on a
"surtout coat, a blue checked shirt; the collar
"standing up, and kept in its place with a wisp
"of black neckerchief; no waistcoat; and a large

EDINBURGH: "pocket-handkerchief thrust into his breast, which
1841.
C. D. to J. F. "was all broad and open. At his heels followed
"a wiry, sharp-eyed, shaggy devil of a terrier,
"dogging his steps as he went slashing up and
"down, now with one man beside him, now with
"another, and now quite alone, but always at a
"fast, rolling pace, with his head in the air, and
"his eyes as wide open as he could get them. I
"guessed it was Wilson, and it was. A bright,
"clear-complexioned, mountain-looking fellow, he
"looks as though he had just come down from
"the Highlands, and had never in his life taken
"pen in hand. But he has had an attack of
"paralysis in his right arm, within this month.
"He winced when I shook hands with him; and
"once or twice when we were walking up and
"down, slipped as if he had stumbled on a piece
"of orange-peel. He is a great fellow to look at,
"and to talk to; and, if you could divest your
"mind of the actual Scott, is just the figure you
"would put in his place."

A fancy of
Scott.

Nor have the most ordinary incidents of the visit any lack of interest for us now, in so far as they help to complete the picture of himself. "Allan has been squiring me about, all the morning. He and Fletcher have gone to a meeting "of the dinner-stewards, and I take the opportunity

“of writing to you. They dine with us to-day, EDINBURGH:
1841.
“and we are going to-night to the theatre. M’Ian —————
“is playing there. I mean to leave a card for
“him before evening. We are engaged for every
“day of our stay, already; but the people I have
“seen are so very hearty and warm in their man-
“ner that much of the horrors of lionization gives Lionization
made
tolerable.
“way before it. I am glad to find that they pro-
“pose giving me for a toast on Friday the Me-
“mory of Wilkie. I should have liked it better
“than anything, if I could have made my choice.
“Communicate all particulars to Mac. I would to
“God you were both here. Do dine together at
“the Gray’s-inn on Friday, and think of me. If I
“don’t drink my first glass of wine to you, may
“my pistols miss fire, and my mare slip her
“shoulder. All sorts of regard from Kate. She
“has gone with Miss Allan to see the house she Thoughts
of home.
“was born in, &c. Write me soon, and long, &c.”

His next letter was written the morning after the dinner, on Saturday the 26th June. “The The dinner great event is over; and being gone, I am a man again. It was the most brilliant affair you can conceive; the completest success possible, from first to last. The room was crammed, and more than seventy applicants for tickets were of necessity refused yesterday. Wilson was ill, but

EDINBURGH: "plucked up like a lion, and spoke famously.* I
1841. send you a paper herewith, but the report is

The speeches. * The speeches generally were good, but the descriptions in the text by himself will here be thought sufficient. One or two sentences ought however to be given to show the tone of Wilson's praise, and I will only preface them by the remark that Dickens's acknowledgments, as well as his tribute to Wilkie, were expressed with great felicity; and that Peter Robertson seems to have thrown the company into convulsions of laughter by his imitation of Dominie Sampson's PRO-DI-GI-OUS, in a supposed interview between that worthy schoolmaster and Mr. Squeers. I now quote from Professor Wilson's speech:

"Our friend has mingled in the common walks of life; he
 "has made himself familiar with the lower orders of society.
 "He has not been deterred by the aspect of vice and wicked-
 "ness, and misery and guilt, from seeking a spirit of good
 "in things evil, but has endeavoured by the might of genius
 "to transmute what was base into what is precious as the
 "beaten gold But I shall be betrayed, if I go on much
 "longer—which it would be improper for me to do—into
 "something like a critical delineation of the genius of our
 "illustrious guest. I shall not attempt that; but I cannot but
 "express in a few ineffectual words, the delight which every
 "human bosom feels in the benign spirit which pervades all
 "his creations. How kind and good a man he is, I need
 "not say; nor what strength of genius he has acquired by that
 "profound sympathy with his fellow-creatures, whether in
 "prosperity and happiness, or overwhelmed with unfortunate
 "circumstances, but who yet do not sink under their miseries,
 "but trust to their own strength of endurance, to that prin-

Dominie
Sampson
and Mr.
Squeers.

Professor
Wilson's
speech.

“dismal in the extreme. They say there will be EDINBURGH.
1841.
C. D.
to
J. F.
 “a better one—I don’t know where or when.—
 “Should there be, I will send it to you. I *think*
 “(ahem!) that I spoke rather well. It was an ex-
 “cellent room, and both the subjects (Wilson and
 “Scottish Literature, and the Memory of Wilkie)

“ciple of truth and honour and integrity which is no stranger
 “to the uncultivated bosom, and which is found in the lowest
 “abodes in as great strength as in the halls of nobles and the
 “palaces of kings. Mr. Dickens is also a satirist. He sa-
 “tirizes human life, but he does not satirize it to degrade it.
 “He does not wish to pull down what is high into the neigh-
 “bourhood of what is low. He does not seek to represent
 “all virtue as a hollow thing, in which no confidence can be
 “placed. He satirizes only the selfish, and the hard-hearted,
 “and the cruel. Our distinguished guest may not have given
 “us, as yet, a full and complete delineation of the female Professor
Wilson’s
log.
 “character. But this he has done: he has not endeavoured
 “to represent women as charming merely by the aid of ac-
 “complishments, however elegant and graceful. He has not
 “depicted those accomplishments as their essentials, but has
 “spoken of them rather as always inspired by a love of do-
 “mesticity, by fidelity, by purity, by innocence, by charity,
 “and by hope, which makes them discharge, under the most
 “difficult circumstances, their duties; and which brings over
 “their path in this world some glimpses of the light of heaven.
 “Mr. Dickens may be assured that there is felt for him all
 “over Scotland a sentiment of kindness, affection, admira-
 “tion, and love; and I know for certain that the knowledge
 “of these sentiments must make him happy.”

EDINBURGH: "were good to go upon. There were nearly two
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"hundred ladies present. The place is so con-
"trived that the cross table is raised enormously:
"much above the heads of people sitting below:
His recep-
tion.
"and the effect on first coming in (on me, I mean)
"was rather tremendous. I was quite self-pos-
"sessed however, and, notwithstanding the en-
"thoosemoosy, which was very startling, as cool
"as a cucumber. I wish to God you had been
"there, as it is impossible for the 'distinguished
"guest' to describe the scene. It beat all natur"....

Here was the close of his letter. "I have been
"expecting every day to hear from you, and not
"hearing mean to make this the briefest epistle
"possible. We start next Sunday (that's to-mor-
"row week). We are going out to Jeffrey's to-
"day (he is very unwell), and return here to-
"morrow evening. If I don't find a letter from
"you when I come back, expect no Lights and
"Shadows of Scottish Life from your indignant
"correspondent. Murray the manager made very
"excellent, tasteful, and gentlemanly mention of
"Macready, about whom Wilson had been asking
"me divers questions during dinner." "A hundred
"thanks for your letter," he writes four days later.
"I read it this morning with the greatest pleasure
"and delight, and answer it with ditto, ditto.

"Where shall I begin—about my darlings? I am ~~EDINBURGH:~~
 "delighted with Charley's precocity. He takes ~~EDINBURGH:~~
 "arter his father, he does. God bless them, you
 "can't imagine (*you!* how can you!) how much I
 "long to see them. It makes me quite sorrowful
 "to think of them. . . . Yesterday, sir, the lord
 "provost, council, and magistrates voted me by
 "acclamation the freedom of the city, in testimony ^{Freedom of}
^{the city voted}
 "(I quote the letter just received from 'James For-

^{to him.}

"rest, lord provost) 'of the sense entertained by
 "them of your distinguished abilities as an author.'
 "I acknowledged this morning in appropriate terms
 "the honour they had done me, and through me
 "the pursuit to which I was devoted. It *is* hand-
 "some, is it not?"

The parchment scroll of the city-freedom, re-
 cording the grounds on which it was voted, hung
 framed in his study to the last, and was one of
 his valued possessions. Answering some question
 of mine he told me further as to the speakers;
 and gave some amusing glimpses of the party-
 spirit which still at that time ran high in the
 capital of the north.

"The men who spoke at the dinner were all
 "the most rising men here, and chiefly at the
 "Bar. They were all, alternately, whigs and
 "tories; with some few radicals, such as Gordon;

C. D.
 to
 J. F.

EDINBURGH: "who gave the memory of Burns. He is Wilson's
1841.

C. D. "son-in-law and the lord advocate's nephew—a

to J. F. "very masterly speaker indeed, who ought to be-

"come a distinguished man. Neaves, who gave
"the other poets, a *little* too lawyer-like for my
"taste, is a great gun in the courts. Mr. Primrose
"is Lord Rosebery's son. Adam Black, the pub-

Speakers. "lisher as you know. Dr. Alison, a very popu-
"lar friend of the poor. Robertson you know.

"Allan you know. Colquhoun is an advocate.
"All these men were selected for the toasts as
"being crack speakers, known men, and opposed

Politics and party. "to each other very strongly in politics. For this
"reason, the professors and so forth who sat
"upon the platform about me made no speeches
"and had none assigned them. I felt it was very

"remarkable to see such a number of grey-headed
"men gathered about my brown flowing locks;
"and it struck most of those who were present
"very forcibly. The judges, solicitor-general, lord-
"advocate, and so forth, were all here to call,

The Judges. "the day after our arrival. The judges never go
"to public dinners in Scotland. Lord Meadow-
"bank alone broke through the custom, and none
"of his successors have imitated him. It will give
"you a good notion of *party* to hear that the so-
"licitor-general and lord-advocate refused to go,

"though they had previously engaged, *unless* the ^{EDINBURGH:}
1841.
 "croupier or the chairman were a whig. Both _____
 "(Wilson and Robertson) were tories, simply be- ^{The law-}
 "cause, Jeffrey excepted, no whig could be found
 "who was adapted to the office. The solicitor
 "laid strict injunctions on Napier not to go if a
 "whig were not in office. No whig was, and he
 "stayed away. I think this is good!—bearing in
 "mind that all the old whigs of Edinburgh were ^{Whig}
^{jealousies.}
 "cracking their throats in the room. They give
 "out that they were ill, and the lord-advocate did
 "actually lie in bed all the afternoon; but this is
 "the real truth, and one of the judges told it me
 "with great glee. It seems they couldn't quite
 "trust Wilson or Robertson, as they thought; and
 "feared some tory demonstration. Nothing of
 "the kind took place; and ever since, these men
 "have been the loudest in their praises of the
 "whole affair."

The close of his letter tells us all his engagements, and completes his grateful picture of the hearty Scottish welcome given him. It has also some personal touches that may be thought worth preserving. "A threat reached me last night (they ^{Rumours} from ^{Glasgow.}
 "have been hammering at it in their papers, it
 "seems, for some time) of a dinner at Glasgow.

EDINBURGH: "But I hope, having circulated false rumours of
1841.
C. D. "my movements, to get away before they send
to
J. F. "to me; and only to stop there on my way home,
"to change horses and send to the post-office. . . .
"You will like to know how we have been living.
"Here's a list of engagements, past and present.
"Wednesday, we dined at home, and went incog.
At the theatre. "to the theatre at night, to Murray's box: the
"pieces admirably done, and M'Ian in the *Two
Drovers* quite wonderful, and most affecting.
"Thursday, to Lord Murray's; dinner and even-
"ing party. Friday, *the dinner*. Saturday, to
"Jeffrey's, a beautiful place about three miles off"
(Craig-crook, which at Lord Jeffrey's invitation I
afterwards visited with him), "stop there all night.
"dine on Sunday, and home at eleven. Monday,
"dine at Dr. Alison's, four miles off. Tuesday,
Hospitalities. "dinner and evening party at Allan's. Wednes-
"day, breakfast with Napier, dine with Black-
"woods seven miles off, evening party at the trea-
"surer's of the town-council, supper with all the
"artists (!!). Thursday, lunch at the solicitor-
"general's, dine at Lord Gillies's, evening party
"at Joseph Gordon's, one of Brougham's earliest
"supporters. Friday, dinner and evening party at
"Robertson's. Saturday, dine again at Jeffrey's;

L

"back to the theatre, at half-past nine to the mo- EDINBURGH:
1841.
 "ment, for public appearance;*" places all let, &c.
 "&c. &c. Sunday, off at seven o'clock in the
 "morning to Stirling, and then to Callender, a
 "stage further. Next day, to Lochearn, and pull
 "up there for three days, to rest and work. The
 "moral of all this is, that there is no place like Moral of
it all.
 "home; and that I thank God most heartily for
 "having given me a quiet spirit, and a heart that
 "won't hold many people. I sigh for Devonshire-
 "terrace and Broadstairs, for battledore and
 "shuttlecock; I want to dine in a blouse with
 "you and Mac; and I feel Topping's merits more
 "acutely than I have ever done in my life. On
 "Sunday evening the 17th of July I shall revisit
 "my household gods, please heaven. I wish the
 "day were here. For God's sake be in waiting.
 "I wish you and Mac would dine in Devonshire-
 "terrace that day with Fred. He has the key of
 "the cellar. *Do.* We shall be at Inverary in the
 "Highlands on Tuesday week, getting to it Proposed
visit to the
Highlands.
 "through the pass of Glencoe, of which you may
 "have heard! On Thursday following we shall

* On this occasion, as he told me afterwards, the orchestra did a double stroke of business, much to the amazement of himself and his friends, by improvising at his entrance *Charlie is my Darling*, amid tumultuous shouts of delight.

EDINBURGH: "be at Glasgow, where I shall hope to receive
1841. "your last letter before we meet. At Inverary,
"too, I shall make sure of finding at least one,
"at the post-office. . . . Little Allan is trying hard
"for the post of queen's limner for Scotland, va-
"cant by poor Wilkie's death. Every one is in
"his favor but——who is jobbing for some one
"else. Appoint him, will you, and I'll give up
"the premier-ship.—How I breakfasted to-day in
"the house where Scott lived seven and twenty
"years; how I have made solemn pledges to
"write about missing children in the *Edinburgh*
"Review, and will do my best to keep them; how
"I have declined to be brought in, free gratis for
"nothing and qualified to boot, for a Scotch
"county that's going a-begging, lest I should be
"thought to have dined on Friday under false
"pretences; these, with other marvels, shall be
"yours anon. . . . I must leave off sharp, to get
"dressed and off upon the seven miles dinner
"trip. Kate's affectionate regards. My hearty
Offer of a seat. "loves to Mac and Grim." Grim was another
great artist having the same beginning to his
name, whose tragic studies had suggested an epi-
thet quite inapplicable to any of his personal
qualities.

Macclise and Macready.

The narrative of the trip to the Highlands

must have a chapter to itself and its incidents of ~~EDINBURGH:~~
adventure and comedy. The latter chiefly were —————
due to the guide who accompanied him, a quasi-^{Guide to the}
highlander himself, named a few pages back as
Mr. Kindheart, whose real name was Mr. Angus ^{Angus}~~Fletcher~~.
Fletcher, and to whom it hardly needs that I
should give other mention than will be supplied
by such future notices of him as my friend's let-
ters may contain. He had a wayward kind of
talent, which he could never concentrate on a
settled pursuit; and though at the time we
knew him first he had taken up the profes-
sion of a sculptor, he abandoned it soon after-
wards. His mother, a woman distinguished by
many remarkable qualities, lived now in the Eng-
lish lake-country; and it was no fault of hers that
this home was no longer her son's. But what
mainly had closed it to him was undoubtedly not
less the secret of such liking for him as Dickens had.
Fletcher's eccentricities and absurdities, often di-
vided by the thinnest partition from the most foolish
extravagance, but occasionally clever, and always
the genuine though whimsical outgrowth of the life
he led, had a curious sort of charm for Dickens.
He enjoyed the oddity and humour; tolerated all
the rest; and to none more freely than to Kind-
heart during the next few years, both in Italy and

EDINBURGH: in England, opened his house and hospitality.
1841.—The close of the poor fellow's life, alas! was in
only too sad agreement with all the previous
course of it; but this will have mention hereafter.
He is waiting now to introduce Dickens to the
Highlands.

CHAPTER XVI.

ADVENTURES IN THE HIGHLANDS.

1841.

FROM Loch-earn-head Dickens wrote on Monday the 5th of July, having reached it, "wet through," at four that afternoon. "Having had "a great deal to do in a crowded house on Saturday night at the theatre, we left Edinburgh "yesterday morning at half past seven, and travelled, with Fletcher for our guide, to a place "called Stewart's-hotel, nine miles further than "Callender. We had neglected to order rooms, "and were obliged to make a sitting-room of our "own bed-chamber; in which my genius for stowing furniture away was of the very greatest service. Fletcher slept in a kennel with three panes "of glass in it, which formed part and parcel of "a window; the other three panes whereof belonged to a man who slept on the other side of "the partition. He told me this morning that he "had had a nightmare all night, and had screamed A fright.

THE HIGHLANDS:
1841.
C. D.
to
J. F.

THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"horribly, he knew. The stranger, as you may suppose, hired a gig and went off at full gallop with the first glimpse of daylight.* Being very tired (for we had not had more than three hours' sleep on the previous night) we lay till ten this

* Poor good Mr. Fletcher had, among his other peculiarities, a habit of venting any particular emotion in a wildness of cry that went beyond even the descriptive power of his friend, who referred to it frequently in his Broadstairs letters. Here is an instance (20th Sept. 1840) "Mrs. M. being in the next machine the other day heard him howl like a wolf (as he does) when he first touched the cold water. I am glad to have my former story in that respect confirmed. There is no sound on earth like it. In the infernal regions there may be, but elsewhere there is no compound addition of wild beasts that could produce its like for their total. The description of the wolves in *Robinson Crusoe* is the nearest thing; but it's feeble—very feeble—in comparison." Of the generally amiable side to all his eccentricities I am tempted to give an illustration from the same letter. "An alarming report being brought to me the other day that he was preaching, I betook myself to the spot and found he was reading Wordsworth to a family on the terrace, outside the house, in the open air and public way. The whole town were out. When he had given them a taste of Wordsworth, he sent home for Mrs. Norton's book, and entertained them with selections from that. He concluded with an imitation of Mrs. Hemans reading her own poetry, which he performed with a pocket-handkerchief over his head to imitate her veil—all this in public, before everybody."

Fletcher's
eccen-
tricities.

"morning; and at half past eleven went through THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.
C. D.
to
J. F.
The
Trossachs.
 "the Trossachs to Loch-katrine, where I walked
 "from the hotel after tea last night. It is impos-
 "sible to say what a glorious scene it was. It
 "rained as it never does rain anywhere but here. The
Island of the
Lady of the
Lake.
 "We conveyed Kate up a rocky pass to go and
 "see the island of the Lady of the Lake, but she
 "gave in after the first five minutes,' and we left
 "her, very picturesque and uncomfortable, with
 "Tom" (the servant they had brought with them
 from Devonshire-terrace) "holding an umbrella
 "over her head, while we climbed on. When we
 "came back, she had gone into the carriage. We
 "were wet through to the skin, and came on in
 "that state four and twenty miles. Fletcher is
 "very good natured, and of extraordinary use in
 "these outlandish parts. His habit of going into The travel-
lers' guide.
 "kitchens and bars, disconcerting at Broadstairs,
 "is here of great service. Not expecting us till
 "six, they hadn't lighted our fires when we ar-
 "rived here; and if you had seen him (with whom
 "the responsibility of the omission rested) running
 "in and out of the sitting-room and the two bed-
 "rooms with a great pair of bellows, with which
 "he distractedly blew each of the fires out in turn,
 "you would have died of laughing. He had on
 "his head a great highland cap, on his back a A comical
picture.

THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Highland
accommo-
dation.

Weather.

Peel's
elections.

"white coat, and cut such a figure as even the "inimitable can't depicter . . .

"The Inns, inside and out, are the queerest "places imaginable. From the road, this one," at Loch-earn-head, "looks like a white wall, with "windows in it by mistake. We have a good "sitting-room though, on the first floor: as large "(but not as lofty) as my study. The bedrooms "are of that size which renders it impossible for "you to move, after you have taken your boots "off, without chipping pieces out of your legs. "There isn't a basin in the Highlands which will "hold my face; not a drawer which will open "after you have put your clothes in it; not a "water-bottle capacious enough to wet your tooth- "brush. The huts are wretched and miserable "beyond all description. The food (for those who "can pay for it) 'not bad,' as M would say: oat- "cake, mutton, hotch potch, trout from the loch, "small beer bottled, marmalade, and whiskey. Of "the last named article I have taken about a pint "to-day. The weather is what they call 'soft'— "which means that the sky is a vast water-spout "that never leaves off emptying itself; and the "liquor has no more effect than water. I "am going to work to-morrow, and hope before "leaving here to write you again. The elections

"have been sad work indeed. That they should
 "return Sibthorp and reject Bulwer, is, by Heaven,
 "a national disgrace. . . . I don't wonder the devil
 "flew over Lincoln. The people were far too
 "addle-headed, even for him. . . . I don't bore
 "you with accounts of Ben this and that, and
 "Lochs of all sorts of names, but this is a won-
 "derful region. The way the mists were stalking
 "about to-day, and the clouds lying down upon
 "the hills; the deep glens, the high rocks, the
 "rushing waterfalls, and the roaring rivers down
 "in deep gulfs below; were all stupendous. This
 "house is wedged round by great heights that are Grand
scenery.
 "lost in the clouds; and the loch, twelve miles
 "long, stretches out its dreary length before the
 "windows. In my next, I shall soar to the sublime,
 "perhaps; in this here present writing I confine
 "myself to the ridiculous. But I am always,"
 &c. &c.

His next letter bore the date of "Ballechelish, From Ballo-
chelish. Friday evening, ninth July, 1841, half-past nine,
 "P.M." and described what we had often longed
 to see together, the Pass of Glencoe. . . . "I can't
 "go to bed without writing to you from here,
 "though the post will not leave this place until
 "we have left it, and arrived at another. On look-
 "ing over the route which Lord Murray made out

THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.
C. D.
to
J. F.

THE HIGH-
 LANDS:
 1841.
 C. D.
 to
 J. F.
 Changes in
 route.

"for me, I found he had put down Thursday next
 "for Abbotsford and Dryburgh-abby, and a
 "journey of seventy miles besides! Therefore,
 "and as I was happily able to steal a march upon
 "myself at Loch-earn-head, and to finish in two
 "days what I thought would take me three, we
 "shall leave here to-morrow morning; and, by
 "being a day earlier than we intended at all the
 "places between this and Melrose (which we pro-
 "pose to reach by Wednesday night), we shall
 "have a whole day for Scott's house and tomb,
 "and still be at York on Saturday evening, and
 "home, God willing, on Sunday. . . . We left
 "Loch-earn-head last night, and went to a place
 "called Killin, eight miles from it, where we slept.
 "I walked some six miles with Fletcher after we
 A waterfall. "got there, to see a waterfall: and truly it was a
 "magnificent sight, foaming and crashing down
 "three great steeps of riven rock; leaping over the
 "first as far off as you could carry your eye, and
 "rumbling and foaming down into a dizzy pool
 "below you, with a deafening roar. To-day we
 "have had a journey of between 50 and 60 miles,
 "through the bleakest and most desolate part of
 "Scotland, where the hill-tops are still covered
 "with great patches of snow, and the road winds
 "over steep mountain passes, and on the brink of

“deep brooks and precipices. The cold all day
 “has been *intense*, and the rain sometimes most
 “violent. It has been impossible to keep warm,
 “by any means; even whiskey failed; the wind
 “was too piercing even for that. One stage of
 “ten miles, over a place called the Black-mount,
 “took us two hours and a half to do; and when
 “we came to a lone public called the King’s-
 “house, at the entrance to Glencoe—this was Entrance to
Glencoe.
 “about three o’clock—we were well nigh frozen.
 “We got a fire directly, and in twenty minutes
 “they served us up some famous kippered salmon,
 “broiled; a broiled fowl; hot mutton ham and
 “poached eggs; pancakes; oatcake; wheaten bread;
 “butter; bottled porter; hot water, lump sugar, and
 “whiskey; of which we made a very hearty meal.
 “All the way, the road had been among moors
 “and mountains with huge masses of rock, which
 “fell down God knows where, sprinkling the
 “ground in every direction, and giving it the
 “aspect of the burial place of a race of giants.
 “Now and then we passed a hut or two, with
 “neither window nor chimney, and the smoke of
 “the peat fire rolling out at the door. But there
 “were not six of these dwellings in a dozen
 “miles; and anything so bleak and wild, and
 “mighty in its loneliness, as the whole country, it

THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

The pass
of Glencoe.

"is impossible to conceive. Glencoe itself is perfectly *terrible*. The pass is an awful place. It is shut in on each side by enormous rocks from which great torrents come rushing down in all directions. In amongst these rocks on one side of the pass (the left as we came) there are scores of glens, high up, which form such haunts as you might imagine yourself wandering in, in the very height and madness of a fever. They will live in my dreams for years—I was going to say as long as I live, and I seriously think so. The very recollection of them makes me shudder... Well, I will not bore you with my impressions of these tremendous wilds, but they really are fearful in their grandeur and amazing solitude. Wales is a mere toy compared with them."

The further mention of his guide's whimsical ways may stand, for it cannot now be the possible occasion of pain or annoyance, or of anything but very innocent laughter.

Loch Leven.

A July
evening.

"We are now in a bare white house on the banks of Loch-leven, but in a comfortably furnished room on the top of the house—that is, on the first floor—with the rain pattering against the window as though it were December, the wind howling dismally, a cold damp mist on everything without, a blazing fire within halfway

"up the chimney, and a most infernal Piper practising under the window for a competition of "pipers which is to come off shortly. . . . The "store of anecdotes of Fletcher with which we "shall return, will last a long time. It seems that "the F's are an extensive clan, and that his father "was a highlander. Accordingly, wherever he "goes, he finds out some cotter or small farmer "who is his cousin. I wish you could see him "walking into his cousins' curds and cream, and "into their dairies generally! Yesterday morning "between eight and nine, I was sitting writing at "the open window, when the postman came to "the inn (which at Loch-earn-head is the post of-fice) for the letters. He is going away, when "Fletcher, who has been writing somewhere below "stairs, rushes out, and cries 'Halloa there! Is "that the Post?' 'Yes!' somebody answers. 'Call "him back!' says Fletcher: 'Just sit down till I've "done, *and don't go away till I tell you.*'—Fancy! "The General Post, with the letters of forty vil-lages in a leather bag! . . . To-morrow at Oban. "Sunday at Inverary. Monday at Tarbet. Tues-day at Glasgow (and that night at Hamilton). "Wednesday at Melrose. Thursday at Ditto. Fri-day I don't know where. Saturday at York. "Sunday—how glad I shall be to shake hands

THE HIGH-LANDS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Postal service at
Loch-earn-head.

Route homeward.

THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

The maid
of the inn.

Effect of
Glencoe.

"with you. My love to Mac. I thought he'd have written once. Ditto to Macready. I had a very nice and welcome letter from him, and a most hearty one from Elliotson. . . . P.S. Half asleep. So, excuse drowsiness of matter and composition. I shall be full of joy to meet another letter from you! . . . P.P.S. They speak Gaelic here, of course, and many of the common people understand very little English. Since I wrote this letter, I rang the girl upstairs, and gave elaborate directions (you know my way) for a pint of sherry to be made into boiling negus; mentioning all the ingredients one by one, and particularly nutmeg. When I had quite finished, seeing her obviously bewildered, I said, with great gravity, 'Now you know what you're going to order?' 'Oh yes. Sure.' 'What?'—a pause—'Just'—another pause—'Just plenty of "nuibergs!"'

The impression made upon him by the Pass of Glencoe was not overstated in this letter. It continued with him as he there expresses it; and, as we shall see hereafter, even where he expected to find Nature in her most desolate grandeur on the dreary waste of an American prairie, his imagination went back with a higher satisfaction to Glencoe. But his experience of it is not yet

completely told. The sequel was in a letter of two days later date from "Dalmally, Sunday, July the eleventh, 1841."

"As there was no place of this name in our route, you will be surprised to see it at the head of this present writing. But our being here is a part of such moving accidents by flood and field as will astonish you. If you should happen to have your hat on, take it off, that your hair may stand on end without any interruption. To get from Ballyhoolish (as I am obliged to spell it when Fletcher is not in the way; and he is out at this moment) to Oban, it is necessary to cross two ferries, one of which is an arm of the sea, eight or ten miles broad. Into this ferry-boat, passengers, carriages, horses, and all, get bodily, and are got across by hook or by crook if the weather be reasonably fine. Yesterday morning, however, it blew such a strong gale that the landlord of the inn, where we had paid for horses all the way to Oban (thirty miles), honestly came upstairs just as we were starting, with the money in his hand, and told us it would be impossible to cross. There was nothing to be done but to come back five and thirty miles, through Glencoe and Inverouran, to a place called Tyn-drum, whence a road twelve miles long crosses

THE HIGH-LANDS:
1841.

C. D.

to

J. F.

At a place
not in his
route.

An adven-ture.

THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Again
through
Glencoe.

Torrents
swollen
with rain.

"to Dalmally, which is sixteen miles from Inverary. Accordingly we turned back, and in a great storm of wind and rain began to retrace the dreary road we had come the day before. . . I was not at all ill pleased to have to come again through that awful Glencoe. If it had been tremendous on the previous day, yesterday it was perfectly horrific. It had rained all night, and was raining then, as it only does in these parts. Through the whole glen, which is ten miles long, torrents were boiling and foaming, and sending up in every direction spray like the smoke of great fires. They were rushing down every hill and mountain side, and tearing like devils across the path, and down into the depths of the rocks. Some of the hills looked as if they were full of silver, and had cracked in a hundred places. Others as if they were frightened, and had broken out into a deadly sweat. In others there was no compromise or division of streams, but one great torrent came roaring down with a deafening noise, and a rushing of water that was quite appalling. Such a *spaet*, in short (that's the country word), has not been known for many years, and the sights and sounds were beyond description. The post-boy was not at all at his ease, and the horses were very much frightened (as well they

"might be) by the perpetual raging and roaring; THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.
C. D.
to
J. F.
 "one of them started as we came down a steep Dangerous
travelling.
 "place, and we were within that much (—) of
 "tumbling over a precipice; just then, too, the
 "drag broke, and we were obliged to go on as
 "we best could, without it: getting out every now Incidents and
accidents.
 "and then, and hanging on at the back of the
 "carriage to prevent its rolling down too fast, and
 "going Heaven knows where. Well, in this
 "pleasant state of things we came to King's-house
 "again, having been four hours doing the sixteen
 "miles. The rumble where Tom sat was by this
 "time so full of water, that he was obliged to
 "borrow a gimlet, and bore holes in the bottom
 "to let it run out. The horses that were to take
 "us on, were out upon the hills, somewhere within
 "ten miles round; and three or four bare-legged
 "fellows went out to look for 'em, while we sat
 "by the fire and tried to dry ourselves. At last Incidents and
accidents.
 "we got off again (without the drag and with a
 "broken spring, no smith living within ten miles),
 "and went limping on to Inverouran. In the first
 "three miles we were in a ditch and out again,
 "and lost a horse's shoe. All this time it never
 "once left off raining; and was very windy, very
 "cold, very misty, and most intensely dismal. So

THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.

C. D.

to

J. F.

Broken-down
bridge.

A fortunate
resolve.

"we crossed the Black-mount, and came to a place
"we had passed the day before, where a rapid
"river runs over a bed of broken rock. Now, this
"river, sir, had a bridge last winter, but the bridge
"broke down when the thaw came, and has never
"since been mended; so travellers cross upon a
"little platform, made of rough deal planks stretch-
"ing from rock to rock; and carriages and horses
"ford the water, at a certain point. As the plat-
"form is the reverse of steady (we had proved
"this the day before), is very slippery, and affords
"anything but a pleasant footing, having only a
"trembling little rail on one side, and on the
"other nothing between it and the foaming stream,
"Kate decided to remain in the carriage, and trust
"herself to the wheels rather than to her feet.
"Fletcher and I had got out, and it was going
"away, when I advised her, as I had done several
"times before, to come with us; for I saw that
"the water was very high, the current being
"greatly swollen by the rain, and that the post-
"boy had been eyeing it in a very disconcerted
"manner for the last half hour. This decided her
"to come out; and Fletcher, she, Tom, and I,
"began to cross, while the carriage went about a
"quarter of a mile down the bank, in search of a

“shallow place. The platform shook so much
“that we could only come across two at a time,
“and then it felt as if it were hung on springs.
“As to the wind and rain! . . . well, put into one
“gust all the wind and rain you ever saw and
“heard, and you’ll have some faint notion of it!
“When we got safely to the opposite bank, there
“came riding up a wild highlander, in a great
“plaid, whom we recognized as the landlord of
“the inn, and who without taking the least notice
“of us, went dashing on,—with the plaid he was
“wrapped in, streaming in the wind,—screeching
“in Gaelic to the post-boy on the opposite bank,
“and making the most frantic gestures you ever
“saw, in which he was joined by some other wild
“men on foot, who had come across by a short
“cut, knee-deep in mire and water. As we began
“to see what this meant, we (that is, Fletcher
“and I) scrambled on after them, while the boy, ^{Post-boy} _{in danger.}
“horses, and carriage were plunging in the water,
“which left only the horses’ heads and the boy’s
“body visible. By the time we got up to them,
“the man on horseback and the men on foot were
“perfectly mad with pantomime; for as to any of
“their shouts being heard by the boy, the water
“made such a great noise that they might as well

THE HIGH
LANDS:
1841.
C. D.
to
J. F.

THE HIGH-
LANDS;
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

The rescue.

Narrow
escape.

"have been dumb. It made me quite sick to
"think how I should have felt if Kate had been
"inside. The carriage went round and round
"like a great stone, the boy was as pale as death,
"the horses were struggling and plashing and
"snorting like sea-animals, and we were all roar-
"ing to the driver to throw himself off and let
"them and the coach go to the devil, when sud-
"denly it came all right (having got into shallow
"water), and, all tumbling and dripping and jog-
"ging from side to side, climbed up to the dry
"land. I assure you we looked rather queer, as
"we wiped our faces and stared at each other in
"a little cluster round about it. It seemed that
"the man on horseback had been looking at us
"through a telescope as we came to the track, and
"knowing that the place was very dangerous, and
"seeing that we meant to bring the carriage, had
"come on at a great gallop to show the driver
"the only place where he could cross. By the
"time he came up, the man had taken the water
"at a wrong place, and in a word was as nearly
"drowned (with carriage, horses, luggage, and all)
"as ever man was. Was *this* a good adventure?
"We all went on to the inn—the wild man
"galloping on first, to get a fire lighted—and there

THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.
Highland inn
and inmates.

"we dined on eggs and bacon, oat-cake, and "whiskey; and changed and dried ourselves. The place was a mere knot of little outhouses, and "in one of these there were fifty highlanders *all drunk*. . . . Some were drovers, some pipers, and "some workmen engaged to build a hunting-lodge for Lord Breadalbane hard by, who had "been driven in by stress of weather. One was "a paper-hanger. He had come out three days "before to paper the inn's best room, a chamber "almost large enough to keep a Newfoundland "dog in; and, from the first half hour after his "arrival to that moment, had been hopelessly "and irreclaimably drunk. They were lying about "in all directions: on forms, on the ground, about "a loft overhead, round the turf-fire wrapped in "plaids, on the tables, and under them. We paid "our bill, thanked our host very heartily, gave "some money to his children, and after an hour's "rest came on again. At ten o'clock at night, "we reached this place, and were overjoyed to "find quite an English inn, with good beds (those English "we have slept on, yet, have always been of straw), comfort at "and every possible comfort. We breakfasted this Dalmally.

"morning at half past ten, and at three go on to "Inverary to dinner. I believe the very rough

- THE HIGH-
LANDS:**
1841.
- C. D.
to
J. F.
- “part of the journey is over, and I am really glad
“of it. Kate sends all kind of regards. I shall
“hope to find a letter from you at Inverary when
“the post reaches there, to-morrow. I wrote to
“Oban yesterday, desiring the post-office keeper
“to send any he might have for us, over to that
“place. Love to Mac.”
- One more letter, brief but overflowing at every word with his generous nature, must close the delightful series written from Scotland. It was dated from Inverary the day following his exciting adventure; promised me another from Melrose (which has unfortunately not been kept with the rest); and enclosed the invitation to a public dinner at Glasgow. “I have returned for answer
“that I am on my way home, on pressing busi-
“ness connected with my weekly publication, and
“can’t stop. But I have offered to come down
“any day in September or October, and accept
“the honour then. Now, I shall come and return
“per mail; and if this suits them, enter into a
“solemn league and covenant to come with me.
“Do. You must. I am sure you will . . . Till
“my next, and always afterwards, God bless you.
“I got your welcome letter this morning, and
“have read it a hundred times. What a pleasure
- Dinner at
Glasgow
proposed.

"it is. Kate's best regards. I am dying for Sun-
"day, and wouldn't stop now for twenty dinners
"of twenty thousand each.

THE HIGH-
LANDS:
1841.

Impatience
for home.

*'always your affectionate friend
D. D.*

"Will Lord John meet the parliament, or re-sign first?" I agreed to accompany him to Glasgow; but illness intercepted that celebration.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

Peel and his
party.

SOON after his return, at the opening of August, he went to Broadstairs; and the direction in which that last question shows his thoughts to have been busy, was that to which he turned his first holiday leisure. He sent me some rhymed squibs as his anonymous contribution to the fight the liberals were then making, against what was believed to be intended by the return to office of the tories; ignorant as we were how much wiser than his party the statesman then at the head of it was, or how greatly what we all most desired would be advanced by the very success that had been most disheartening. There will be no harm now in giving one of these pieces, which will sufficiently show the tone of all of them, and with what a hearty relish they were written. I doubt indeed if he ever enjoyed anything more than the power of thus taking part occasionally, un-

known to outsiders, in the sharp conflict the press was waging at the time. "By Jove how radical "I am getting!" he wrote to me (13th August). "I wax stronger and stronger in the true principles every day. I don't know whether it's the "sea, or no, but so it is." He would at times even talk, in moments of sudden indignation at the political outlook, of carrying off himself and his household gods, like Coriolanus, to a world elsewhere! "Thank God there is a Van Diemen's-land. That's my comfort. Now, I wonder if I should make a good settler! I wonder, if I went "to a new colony with my head, hands, legs, and "health, I should force myself to the top of the "social milk-pot and live upon the cream! What "do you think? Upon my word I believe I "should."

His political squibs during the tory interregnum comprised some capital subjects for pictures after the manner of Peter Pindar; but that which I select has no touch of personal satire in it, and he would himself, for that reason, have least objected to its revival. Thus ran his new version of "The "Fine Old English Gentleman, to be said or sung "at all conservative dinners."

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Thoughts of
colonizing.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

The fine old English Tory times. I'll sing you a new ballad, and I'll warrant it first-rate,
Of the days of that old gentleman who had that old estate;
When they spent the public money at a bountiful old rate
On ev'ry mistress, pimp, and scamp, at ev'ry noble gate,
In the fine old English Tory times;
Soon may they come again!

The good old laws were garnished well with gibbets, whips,
and chains,
With fine old English penalties, and fine old English pains,
With rebel heads and seas of blood once hot in rebel veins;
For all these things were requisite to guard the rich old gains
Of the fine old English Tory times;
Soon may they come again!

Squib by
C. D.

This brave old code, like Argus, had a hundred watchful eyes,
And ev'ry English peasant had his good old English spies,
To tempt his starving discontent with fine old English lies,
Then call the good old Yeomanry to stop his peevish cries,
In the fine old English Tory times;
Soon may they come again!

The good old times for cutting throats that cried out in their
need,
The good old times for hunting men who held their fathers'
creed,
The good old times when William Pitt, as all good men
agreed,
Came down direct from Paradise at more than railroad
speed. . . .
Oh the fine old English Tory times;
When will they come again!

In those rare days, the press was seldom known to snarl or bark,

But sweetly sang of men in pow'r, like any tuneful lark;
Grave judges, too, to all their evil deeds were in the dark;
And not a man in twenty score knew how to make his mark.

Oh the fine old English Tory times;
Soon may they come again!

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

The fine old
English Tory
times.

But Tolerance, though slow in flight, is strong-wing'd in the main;

That night must come on these fine days, in course of time Squib by C. D.
was plain;

The pure old spirit struggled, but its struggles were in vain;
A nation's grip was on it, and it died in choaking pain,

With the fine old English Tory days,
All of the olden time.

The bright old day now dawns again; the cry runs through the land,

In England there shall be—dear bread! in Ireland—sword and brand!

And poverty, and ignorance, shall swell the rich and grand,
So, rally round the rulers with the gentle iron hand,

Of the fine old English Tory days;
Hail to the coming time!

Of matters in which he had been specially interested before he quitted London, one or two may properly be named. He had always sympathised, almost as strongly as Archbishop Whately

LONDON: did, with Doctor Elliotson's mesmeric investiga-
1841.

Mesmerism. tions; and, reinforced as these were in the present year by the displays of a Belgian youth whom another friend, Mr. Chauncy Hare Townshend, brought over to England, the subject, which to the last had an attraction for him, was for the time rather ardently followed up. The improvement during the last few years in the London prisons was another matter of eager and pleased enquiry with him; and he took frequent means of stating what in this respect had been done, since even the date when his *Sketches* were written, by two most efficient public officers at Clerkenwell and Tothill-fields, Mr. Chesterton and Lieutenant Tracey, whom the course of these enquiries turned into private friends. His last letter to me before he quitted town sufficiently explains itself. "Slow "rises worth by poverty deprest" was the thought in his mind at every part of his career, and he never for a moment was unmindful of the duty it imposed upon him. "I subscribed for a couple "of copies" (31st July) "of this little book. I knew "nothing of the man, but he wrote me a very "modest letter of two lines, some weeks ago. I "have been much affected by the little biography "at the beginning, and I thought you would like "to share the emotion it had raised in me. I

Book by a
workman.

"wish we were all in Eden again—for the sake
"of these toiling creatures."

In the middle of August (Monday 16th) I had announcement that he was coming up for special purposes. "I sit down to write to you without an "atom of news to communicate. Yes I have—" something that will surprise you, who are pent "up in dark and dismal Lincoln's-inn-fields. It "is the brightest day you ever saw. The sun is "sparkling on the water so that I can hardly bear "to look at it. The tide is in, and the fishing "boats are dancing like mad. Upon the green- "topped cliffs the corn is cut and piled in shocks; "and thousands of butterflies are fluttering about, "taking the bright little red flags at the mast-heads "for flowers, and panting with delight accordingly. "[Here the Inimitable, unable to resist the brilliancy out of doors, breaketh off, rusheth to the "machines, and plungeth into the sea. Returning, "he proceedeth:] Jeffrey is just as he was when "he wrote the letter I sent you. No better, and "no worse. I had a letter from Napier on Saturday, urging the children's-labour subject upon "me. But, as I hear from Southwood Smith that "the report cannot be printed until the new parliament has sat at the least six weeks, it will be "impossible to produce it before the January

BROAD-
STAIRS.
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

A day in
August by
the sea.

Edinburgh
news.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Another
story in
prospect.

"number. I shall be in town on Saturday morning and go straight to you. A letter has come from little Hall begging that when I *do* come to town I will dine there, as they wish to talk about the new story. I have written to say that "I will do so on Saturday, and we will go together; "but I shall be by no means good company. . . . "I have more than half a mind to start a bookseller of my own. I could; with good capital "too, as you know; and ready to spend it. G. "Varden beware!"

— "Clock"
discontents.

New ad-
venture.

Small causes of displeasure had been growing out of the *Clock*, and were almost unavoidably incident to the position in which he found himself respecting it. Its discontinuance had become necessary, the strain upon himself being too great without the help from others which experience had shown to be impracticable; but I thought he had not met the difficulty wisely by undertaking, which already he had done, to begin a new story so early as the following March. On his arrival therefore we decided on another plan, with which we went armed that Saturday afternoon to his publishers; and of which the result will be best told by himself. He had returned to Broadstairs the following morning, and next day (Monday the 23rd of August) he wrote to me in very en-

thusiastic terms of the share I had taken in what he calls "the development on Saturday afternoon; "when I thought Chapman very manly and sensible, Hall morally and physically feeble though "perfectly well intentioned, and both the statement "and reception of the project quite triumphant.

"Didn't you think so too?" A fortnight later, <sup>Agreement
for it signed.</sup> Tuesday the 7th of September, the agreement was signed in my chambers, and its terms were to the effect following. The *Clock* was to cease with the close of *Barnaby Rudge*, the respective ownerships continuing as provided; and the new work in twenty numbers, similar to those of *Pickwick* and *Nickleby*, was not to begin until after an interval of twelve months, in November 1842. During its publication he was to receive £200 monthly, to be accounted as part of the expenses; for all which, and all risks incident, the publishers made themselves responsible, under conditions the same as in the *Clock* agreement; except that, out of the ^{Terms.} profits of each number, they were to have only a fourth, three fourths going to him, and this arrangement was to hold good until the termination of six months from the completed book, when, upon payment to him of a fourth of the value of all existing stock, they were to have half the future interest. During the twelve months' interval be-

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

The book that
proved to be
Chuzzlewit.

fore the book began, he was to be paid £150 each month; but this was to be drawn from his three fourths of the profits, and in no way to interfere with the monthly payments of £200 while the publication was going on.* Such was the "project," excepting only a provision to be mentioned hereafter against the improbable event of the profits being inadequate to the repayment; and my only drawback from the satisfaction of my own share in it, arose from my fear of the use he was likely to make of the leisure it afforded him.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Peel and
Lord Ashley.

That this fear was not illfounded appeared at the close of the next note I had from him. "There's no news" (13th September) "since my last. We are going to dine with Rogers to-day, and with Lady Essex, who is also here. Rogers is much pleased with Lord Ashley, who was offered by Peel a post in the government, but resolutely refused to take office unless Peel pledged himself to factory improvement. Peel 'hadn't made up his mind'; and Lord Ashley 'was deaf to all other inducements, though they must have been very tempting. Much do I

* "M. was quite aghast last night (9th of September) at the brilliancy of the C. & H. arrangement: which is worth noting perhaps."

"honour him for it. I am in an exquisitely lazy
"state, bathing, walking, reading, lying in the sun,
"doing everything but working. This frame of
"mind is superinduced by the prospect of rest,
"and the promising arrangements which I owe to
"you. I am still haunted by visions of America,<sup>Visions of
America.</sup>
"night and day. To miss this opportunity would
"be a sad thing. Kate cries dismally if I mention
"the subject. But, God willing, I think it *must*
"be managed somehow!"

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EVE OF THE VISIT TO AMERICA.

1841.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

Greetings
from
America.

Reply to
Washington
Irving.

THE notion of America was in his mind, as we have seen, when he first projected the *Clock*, and a very hearty letter from Washington Irving about little Nell and the *Curiosity Shop*, expressing the delight with his writings and the yearnings to himself which had indeed been pouring in upon him for some time from every part of the States, had very strongly revived it. He answered Irving with more than his own warmth: unable to thank him enough for his cordial and generous praise, or to tell him what lasting gratification it had given. "I wish I could find in your welcome "letter," he added, "some hint of an intention to "visit England. I should love to go with you, as "I have gone, God knows how often, into Little- "britain, and East-cheap, and Green-arbour-court, "and Westminster-abbey. . . . It would gladden "my heart to compare notes with you about all

"those delightful places and people that I used to "walk about and dream of in the day time, when "a very small and not-over-particularly-taken-care- "of boy." After interchange of these letters the subject was frequently revived; upon his return from Scotland it began to take shape as a thing that somehow or other, at no very distant date, *must be*; and at last, near the end of a letter filled with many unimportant things, the announcement, doubly underlined, came to me.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

The decision once taken, he was in his usual fever until its difficulties were disposed of. The objections to separation from the children led at first to the notion of taking them, but this was as quickly abandoned; and what remained to be overcome yielded readily to the kind offices of Macready, the offer of whose home to the little ones during the time of absence, though not accepted to the full extent, gave yet the assurance needed to quiet natural apprehensions. All this, including an arrangement for publication of such notes as might occur to him on the journey, took but a few days; and I was reading in my chambers a letter he had written the previous day from Broadstairs, when a note from him reached me, written that morning in London, to tell me he was on his way to take share of my breakfast.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

He had come overland by Canterbury after posting his first letter; had seen Macready the previous night; and had completed some part of the arrangements. This mode of rapid procedure was characteristic of him at all similar times, and will appear in the few following extracts from his letters.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"Now" (19th September) "to astonish you. After balancing, considering, and weighing the matter in every point of view, I HAVE MADE UP

Resolve to go to America.

"MY MIND (WITH GOD'S LEAVE) TO GO TO AMERICA
"—AND TO START AS SOON AFTER CHRISTMAS AS
"IT WILL BE SAFE TO GO." Further information was promised immediately; and a request followed, characteristic as any he could have added to his design of travelling so far away, that we should visit once more together the scenes of his boy-

Wish to
revisit scenes
of boyhood.

hood. "On the ninth of October we leave here. "It's a Saturday. If it should be fine dry weather, "or anything like it, will you meet us at Rochester, "and stop there two or three days to see all the "lions in the surrounding country? Think of this. ". . . If you'll arrange to come, I'll have the carriage down, and Topping; and, supposing news "from Glasgow don't interfere with us, which I "fervently hope it will not, I will ensure that we "have much enjoyment."

Three days later than that which announced his resolve, the subject was resumed. "I wrote to "Chapman and Hall asking them what they thought "of it, and saying I meant to keep a note-book, "and publish it for half a guinea or thereabouts, "on my return. They instantly sent the warmest "possible reply, and said they had taken it for "granted I would go, and had been speaking of "it only the day before. I have begged them to "make every enquiry about the fares, cabins, berths, "and times of sailing; and I shall make a great "effort to take Kate *and* the children. In that "case I shall try to let the house furnished, for "six months (for I shall remain that time in "America); and if I succeed, the rent will nearly "pay the expenses out, and home. I have heard "of family cabins at £100; and I think one of "these is large enough to hold us all. A single Arrangements for the fare, I think, is forty guineas. I fear I could "not be happy if we had the Atlantic between us; "but leaving them in New York while I ran off a "thousand miles or so, would be quite another "thing. If I can arrange all my plans before "publishing the *Clock* address, I shall state therein "that I am going: which will be no unimportant "consideration, as affording the best possible reason "for a long delay. How I am to get on without

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.
Proposed
book about
the States.

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"you for seven or eight months, I cannot, upon
 "my soul, conceive. I dread to think of breaking
 "up all our old happy habits, for so long a time.
 "The advantages of going, however, appear by
 "steady looking-at so great, that I have come to
 "persuade myself it is a matter of imperative ne-
 "cessity. Kate weeps whenever it is spoken of.
 "Washington Irving has got a nasty low fever. I
 "heard from him a day or two ago."

LONDON.

C. D.
to
J. F.

His next letter was the unexpected arrival
 which came by hand from Devonshire-terrace,
 when I thought him still by the sea. "This is to
 "give you notice that I am coming to breakfast
 "with you this morning on my way to Broad-
 "stairs. I repeat it, sir,—on my way *to* Broad-
 "stairs. For, directly I got Macready's note yester-
 "day I went to Canterbury, and came on by day-
 "coach for the express purpose of talking with
 "him; which I did between 11 and 12 last night
 "in Clarence-terrace. The American preliminaries
 "are necessarily startling, and, to a gentleman of
 "my temperament, destroy rest, sleep, appetite,
 "and work, unless definitely arranged.* Macready
 "has quite decided me in respect of time and so
 "forth. The instant I have wrung a reluctant

Impatience
of suspense.

* See Vol. I. p. 153.

"consent from Kate, I shall take our joint passage in the mail-packet for next January. I never loved my friends so well as now." We had all discountenanced his first thought of taking the children; and, upon this and other points, the experience of our friend who had himself travelled over the States was very valuable. His next letter, two days later from Broadstairs, informed me of the result of the Macready conference. "Only a word. Kate is quite reconciled. Anne" (her maid) "goes, and is amazingly cheerful and light of heart upon it. And I think, at present, that it's a greater trial to me than anybody. The 4th of January is the day. Macready's note to 'Kate was received and acted upon with a perfect response. She talks about it quite gaily, and is satisfied to have nobody in the house but 'Fred, of whom, as you know, they are all fond. 'He has got his promotion, and they give him 'the increased salary from the day on which the 'minute was made by Baring. I feel so amiable, 'so meek, so fond of people, so full of gratitudes 'and reliances, that I am like a sick man. And 'I am already counting the days between this 'and coming home again."

He was soon, alas! to be what he compared himself to. I met him at Rochester at the end

BROAD-
STAIRS:
1841.

Resolve to
leave the
children.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Mrs. Dickens
reconciled.

LONDON:
1841.

of September, as arranged; we passed a day and night there; a day and night in Cobham and its neighbourhood, sleeping at the Leather-bottle; and a day and night at Gravesend. But we were hardly returned when some slight symptoms of bodily trouble took suddenly graver form, and an illness followed involving the necessity of surgical attendance. This, which with mention of the helpful courage displayed by him has before been alluded to,* put off necessarily the Glasgow dinner; and he had scarcely left his bedroom when a trouble arose near home which touched him to the depths of the greatest sorrow of his life, and, in the need of exerting himself for others, what remained of his own illness seemed to pass away.

Domestic
Griefs.

His wife's younger brother had died with the same unexpected suddenness that attended her younger sister's death; and the event had followed close upon the decease of Mrs. Hogarth's mother while on a visit to her daughter and Mr. Hogarth. "As no steps had been taken towards the funeral," he wrote (25th October) in reply to my offer of such service as I could render, "I thought it best "at once to bestir myself; and not even you could "have saved my going to the cemetery. It is a

C. D.
to
J. F.

* See *ante*, p. 50.

"great trial to me to give up Mary's grave; greater
"than I can possibly express. I thought of mov-
"ing her to the catacombs and saying nothing
"about it; but then I remembered that the poor
"old lady is buried next her at her own desire,
"and could not find it in my heart, directly she
"is laid in the earth, to take her grandchild away.
"The desire to be buried next her is as strong
"upon me now, as it was five years ago; and I
"know (for I don't think there ever was love like
"that I bear her) that it will never diminish. I
"fear I can do nothing. Do you think I can?
"They would move her on Wednesday, if I re-
"solved to have it done. I cannot bear the thought
"of being excluded from her dust; and yet I feel
"that her brothers and sisters, and her mother,
"have a better right than I to be placed beside
"her. It is but an idea. I neither think nor
"hope (God forbid) that our spirits would ever
"mingle *there*. I ought to get the better of it,
"but it is very hard. I never contemplated this
"—and coming so suddenly, and after being ill,
"it disturbs me more than it ought. It seems like
"losing her a second time . . ." "No," he wrote
"the morning after, "I tried that. No, there is no
"ground on either side to be had. I must give
"it up. I shall drive over there, please God, on

LONDON:
1841.
C. D.
to
J. F.

LONDON: "Thursday morning, before they get there; and
1841. "look at her coffin."

He suffered more than he let any one perceive, and was obliged again to keep his room for some days. On the second of November he reported himself as progressing and ordered to Richmond, which, after a week or so, he changed **At Windsor.** to the White-hart at Windsor, where I passed some days with him, Mrs. Dickens, and her younger sister Georgina; but it was not till near the close of that month he could describe himself as thoroughly on his legs again, in the **Convalescent.** ordinary state on which he was wont to pride himself, bolt upright, staunch at the knees, a deep sleeper, a hearty eater, a good laugher; and nowhere a bit the worse, "bating a little weakness now and then, and a slight nervousness at 'times.'

**Christening
of Walter.**

We had some days of much enjoyment at the end of the year, when Landor came up from Bath for the christening of his godson; and the "Britannia," which was to take the travellers from us in January, brought over to them in December all sorts of cordialities, anticipations, and stretchings-forth of palms, in token of the welcome awaiting them. On new-year's-eve they dined with me, and I with them on new-year's-day;

LONDON:
1841.

when (his house having been taken for the period of his absence by General Sir John Wilson) we sealed up his wine cellar, after opening therein some sparkling Moselle in honour of the ceremony, and drinking it then and there to his happy return. Next morning (it was a Sunday) I accompanied them to Liverpool, Macleise having been suddenly stayed by his mother's death; the intervening day and its occupations have been humorously sketched in his American book; and on the fourth they sailed. I never saw the Britannia after I stepped from her deck back to the small steamer that had taken us to her. "How little I thought" (were the last lines of his *Adieu*. first American letter), "the first time you mounted "the shapeless coat, that I should have such a "sad association with its back as when I saw it "by the paddle-box of that small steamer."

CHAPTER XIX.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA.

1842.

BANKS OF
NEWFOUND-
LAND:
1842.

Rough
passage.

A steamer in
a storm.

THE first lines of that letter were written as soon as he got sight of earth again, from the banks of Newfoundland, on Monday the seventeenth of January, the fourteenth day from their departure: even then so far from Halifax that they could not expect to make it before Wednesday night, or to reach Boston until Saturday or Sunday. They had not been fortunate in the passage. During the whole voyage, the weather had been unprecedently bad, the wind for the most part dead against them, the wet intolerable, the sea horribly disturbed, the days dark, and the nights fearful. On the previous Monday night it had blown a hurricane, beginning at five in the afternoon and raging all night. His description of the storm is published, and the peculiarities of a steamer's behaviour in such circumstances are hit off as if he had been all his life a sailor.

Any but so extraordinary an observer would have described a steamer in a storm as he would have described a sailing-ship in a storm. But any description of the latter would be as inapplicable to my friend's account of the other as the ways of a jackass to those of a mad bull. In the letter from which it was taken, however, there were some things addressed to myself alone. "For two or three hours we gave it up as a lost thing; and with many thoughts of you, and the children, and those others who are dearest to us, waited quietly for the worst. I never expected to see the day again, and resigned myself to God as well as I could. It was a great comfort to think of the earnest and devoted friends we had left behind, and to know that the darlings would not want."

NEWFOUND-LAND:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.
Resigned to
the worst.

This was not the exaggerated apprehension of a landsman merely. The head engineer, who had been in one or other of the Cunard vessels since they began running, had never seen such stress of weather; and I heard Captain Hewitt himself say afterwards that nothing but a steamer, and one of that strength, could have kept her course and stood it out. A sailing vessel must have beaten off and driven where she could; while through all the fury of that gale they actually

NEWFOUND-
LAND:
1842.
Right
onward.

made fifty-four miles headlong through the tempest; straight on end, not varying their track in the least.

Of himself
and fellow-
travellers.

He stood out against sickness only for the day following that on which they sailed. For the three following days he kept his bed; miserable enough; and had not, until the eighth day of the voyage, six days before the date of his letter, been able to get to work at the dinner table. What he then observed of his fellow-travellers, and had to tell of their life on board, has been set forth in his *Notes* with delightful humour; but in its first freshness I received it in this letter, and some whimsical passages, then suppressed, there will be no harm in printing now.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"We have 86 passengers; and such a strange collection of beasts never was got together upon "the sea, since the days of the Ark. I have never "been in the saloon since the first day; the noise, "the smell, and the closeness being quite intolerable. I have only been on deck *once!*— "and then I was surprised and disappointed at "the smallness of the panorama. The sea, running as it does and has done, is very stupendous, "and viewed from the air or some great height "would be grand no doubt. But seen from the "wet and rolling decks, in this weather and these

The Atlantic
from deck.

"circumstances, it only impresses one giddily and NEWFOUND-
LAND:
1842.
"painfully. I was very glad to turn away, and
"come below again.

"I have established myself, from the first, in
"the ladies' cabin—you remember it? I'll describe
"its other occupants, and our way of passing the
"time, to you.

"First, for the occupants. Kate, and I, and The ladies'
cabin.
"Anne—when she is out of bed, which is not
"often. A queer little Scotch body, a Mrs. P—,*
"whose husband is a silver-smith in New York.
"He married her at Glasgow three years ago,
"and bolted the day after the wedding; being
"(which he had not told her) heavily in debt.
"Since then she has been living with her mother;
"and she is now going out under the protection
"of a male cousin, to give him a year's trial. If
"she is not comfortable at the expiration of that
"time, she means to go back to Scotland again.
"A Mrs. B—, about 20 years old, whose husband
"is on board with her. He is a young English-
"man domiciled in New York, and by trade (as

* The initials used here are in no case those of the real names, being employed in every case for the express purpose of disguising the names. Generally the remark is applicable to all initials used in the letters printed in the course of this work.

NEWFOUND- "well as I can make out) a woollen-draper. They
LAND :
1842. "have been married a fortnight. A Mr. and Mrs.
C. D.
to "C—, marvellously fond of each other, complete
J. F. "the catalogue. Mrs. C— I have settled, is a
Occupants of "publican's daughter, and Mr. C— is running
ladies' cabin. "away with her, the till, the time-piece off the
"bar mantel-shelf, the mother's gold watch from
"the pocket at the head of the bed; and other
"miscellaneous property. The women are all
"pretty; unusually pretty. I never saw such good
"faces together anywhere."

Their "way of passing the time" will be found in the *Notes* much as it was written to me; except that there was one point connected with the card-playing which he feared might overtax the credulity of his readers, but which he protested had occurred more than once. "Apropos of

Card-playing "rolling, I have forgotten to mention that in
on the "playing whist we are obliged to put the tricks
Atlantic. "in our pockets, to keep them from disappearing
"altogether; and that five or six times in the
"course of every rubber we are all flung from
"our seats, roll out at different doors, and keep
"on rolling until we are picked up by stewards.
"This has become such a matter of course, that
"we go through it with perfect gravity; and
"when we are bolstered up on our sofas again,

"resume our conversation or our game at the point where it was interrupted." The news that excited them from day to day, too, of which little more than a hint appears in the *Notes*, is worth giving as originally written.

NEWFOUND-
LAND:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"As for news, we have more of that than you ship-news. "would think for. One man lost fourteen pounds "at vingt-un in the saloon yesterday, or another "got drunk before dinner was over, or another "was blinded with lobster sauce spilt over him "by the steward, or another had a fall on deck "and fainted. The ship's cook was drunk yester- "day morning (having got at some salt-water- "damaged whiskey), and the captain ordered "the boatswain to play upon him with the hose "of the fire engine until he roared for mercy— "which he didn't get; for he was sentenced to "look out, for four hours at a stretch for four "nights running, without a great coat, and to "have his grog stopped. Four dozen plates were "broken at dinner. One steward fell down the "cabin-stairs with a round of beef, and injured "his foot severely. Another steward fell down "after him, and cut his eye open. The baker's "taken ill: so is the pastry-cook. A new man, "sick to death, has been required to fill the place "of the latter officer, and has been dragged out

Cook in
disgrace.

NEWFOUND- "of bed and propped up in a little house upon
 LAND : "deck, between two casks, and ordered (the cap-
 1842. "tain standing over him) to make and roll out
 O. D. "pie-crust; which he protests, with tears in his
 to "eyes, it is death to him in his bilious state to
 J. F. "look at. Twelve dozen of bottled porter has
 A cook "got loose upon deck, and the bottles are rolling
 malgré lui. "about distractedly, over-head. Lord Mulgrave
 "A wager. "(a handsome fellow, by the bye, to look at, and
 "nothing but a good 'un to go) laid a wager with
 "twenty-five other men last night, whose berths,
 "like his, are in the fore-cabin, which can only
 "be got at by crossing the deck, that he would
 "reach his cabin first. Watches were set by the
 "captain's, and they sallied forth, wrapped up in
 "coats and storm caps. The sea broke over the
 "ship so violently, that they were *five and twenty*
 "minutes holding on by the handrail at the star-
 "board paddle-box, drenched to the skin by every
 "wave, and not daring to go on or come back,
 "lest they should be washed overboard. News!
 "A dozen murders in town wouldn't interest us
 "half as much."

Nevertheless their excitements were not over. At the very end of the voyage came an incident very lightly touched in the *Notes*, but more freely told to me under date of the 21st January. "We

"were running into Halifax-harbour on Wednesday night, with little wind and a bright moon; "had made the light at its outer entrance, and "given the ship in charge to the pilot; were playing our rubber, all in good spirits (for it had "been comparatively smooth for some days, with "tolerably dry decks and other unusual comforts), "when suddenly the ship STRUCK! A rush upon Ship aground. deck followed of course. The men (I mean the "crew! think of this) were kicking off their shoes "and throwing off their jackets preparatory to "swimming ashore; the pilot was beside himself; "the passengers dismayed; and everything in the "most intolerable confusion and hurry. Breakers "were roaring ahead; the land within a couple of "hundred yards; and the vessel driving upon the "surf, although her paddles were worked backwards, and everything done to stay her course. "It is not the custom of steamers, it seems, to "have an anchor ready. An accident occurred "in getting ours over the side; and for half an "hour we were throwing up rockets, burning blue "lights, and firing signals of distress, all of which Signals of distress. remained unanswered, though we were so close "to the shore that we could see the waving "branches of the trees. All this time, as we "veered about, a man was heaving the lead every

HALIFAX
HARBOUR:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

HALIFAX
HARBOUR:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Captain
Hewitt.

"two minutes; the depths of water constantly decreasing; and nobody self-possessed but Hewitt. "They let go the anchor at last, got out a boat, "and sent her ashore with the fourth officer, the "pilot, and four men aboard, to try and find out "where we were. The pilot had no idea; but "Hewitt put his little finger upon a certain part "of the chart, and was as confident of the exact "spot (though he had never been there in his "life) as if he had lived there from infancy. The "boat's return about an hour afterwards proved "him to be quite right. We had got into a place "called the Eastern-passage, in a sudden fog and "through the pilot's folly. We had struck upon "a mud-bank, and driven into a perfect little "pond, surrounded by banks and rocks and shoals "of all kinds: the only safe speck in the place. "Eased by this report, and the assurance that the "tide was past the ebb, we turned in at three "o'clock in the morning, to lie there all night."

HALIFAX.

Speaker of
house of
assembly.

The next day's landing at Halifax, and delivery of the mails, are sketched in the *Notes*; but not his personal part in what followed. "Then, "sir, comes a breathless man who has been "already into the ship and out again, shouting "my name as he tears along. I stop, arm in arm "with the little doctor whom I have taken ashore

"for oysters. The breathless man introduces him-
 "self as The Speaker of the house of assembly;
 "will drag me away to his house; and will have
 "a carriage and his wife sent down for Kate, who
 "is laid up with a hideously swoln face. Then
 "he drags me up to the Governor's house (Lord
 "Falkland is the governor), and then Heaven
 "knows where; concluding with both houses of
 "parliament, which happen to meet for the session
 "that very day, and are opened by a mock speech
 "from the throne delivered by the governor, with
 "one of Lord Grey's sons for his aide-de-camp,
 "and a great host of officers about him. I wish
 "you could have seen the crowds cheering the
 "inimitable* in the streets. I wish you could
 "have seen judges, law-officers, bishops, and law-
 "makers welcoming the inimitable. I wish you
 "could have seen the inimitable shown to a great
 "elbow-chair by the Speaker's throne, and sitting
 "alone in the middle of the floor of the house of
 "commons, the observed of all observers, listen-
 "ing with exemplary gravity to the queerest
 "speaking possible, and breaking in spite of him-
 "self into a smile as he thought of this commence-
 "ment to the Thousand and One stories in re-

HALIFAX:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Ovation in
Halifax.

In the house
of assembly.

* This word, applied to him by his old master, Mr. Giles (Vol. I. p. 36), was for a long time the epithet we called him by.

BOSTON: "serve for home and Lincoln's-inn fields and Jack
 1842.
 C. D. "Straw's-castle.— Ah, Forster! when I *do* come
 to
 J. F. "back again!— —"

BOSTON. He resumed his letter at Tremont-house on Saturday the 28th of January, having reached Boston that day week at five in the afternoon; and as his first American experience is very lightly glanced at in the *Notes*, a fuller picture will perhaps be welcome. "As the Cunard boats have a "wharf of their own at the custom-house, and "that a narrow one, we were a long time (an hour "at least) working in. I was standing in full fig "on the paddle-box beside the captain, staring "about me, when suddenly, long before we were "moored to the wharf, a dozen men came leap- "ing on board at the peril of their lives, with "great bundles of newspapers under their arms; "worsted comforters (very much the worse for "wear) round their necks; and so forth. 'Aha!' "says I, 'this is like our London-bridge': believ- "ing of course that these visitors were news-boys. "But what do you think of their being EDITORS? "And what do you think of their tearing violently "up to me and beginning to shake hands like "madmen? Oh! If you could have seen how I "wrung their wrists! And if you could but know "how I hated one man in very dirty gaiters, and

Inursion
of editors.

"with very protruding upper teeth, who said to all
 "comers after him, 'So you've been introduced to
 "our friend Dickens—eh?' There was one among
 "them, though, who really was of use; a Doctor
 "S., editor of the ——. He ran off here (two
 "miles at least), and ordered rooms and dinner.
 "And in course of time Kate, and I, and Lord
 "Mulgrave (who was going back to his regiment
 "at Montreal on Monday, and had agreed to live
 "with us in the meanwhile) sat down in a spa-
 "cious and handsome room to a very handsome
 "dinner, 'bating peculiarities of putting on table,
 "and had forgotten the ship entirely. A Mr.
 "Alexander, to whom I had written from England
 "promising to sit for a portrait, was on board
 "directly we touched the land, and brought us
 "here in his carriage. Then, after sending a pre-
 "sent of most beautiful flowers, he left us to our-
 "selves, and we thanked him for it."

BOSTON:
1842.C. D.
to
J. F.At Tremont-
house.

What further he had to say of that week's experience, finds its first public utterance here. "How can I tell you," he continues, "what has happened since that first day? How can I ^{The welcome.} give you the faintest notion of my reception here; of the crowds that pour in and out the whole day; of the people that line the streets "when I go out; of the cheering when I went to

BOSTON: "the theatre; of the copies of verses, letters of
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Proposed
dinners and
balls.

"congratulation, welcomes of all kinds, balls, din-
"ners, assemblies without end? There is to be
"a public dinner to me here in Boston, next
"Tuesday, and great dissatisfaction has been
"given to the many by the high price (three
"pounds sterling each) of the tickets. There is
"to be a ball next Monday week at New York,
"and 150 names appear on the list of the com-
"mittee. There is to be a dinner in the same
"place, in the same week, to which I have had
"an invitation with every known name in America
"appended to it. But what can I tell you about
"any of these things which will give you the
"slightest notion of the enthusiastic greeting they
"give me, or the cry that runs through the whole
Deputations. "country! I have had deputations from the Far
"West, who have come from more than two thou-
"sand miles distance: from the lakes, the rivers, the
"back-woods, the log-houses, the cities, factories,
"villages, and towns. Authorities from nearly all
"the States have written to me. I have heard
"from the universities, congress, senate, and bo-
"dies, public and private, of every sort and kind.
"It is no nonsense, and no common feeling,'

Dr. Channing "wrote Dr. Channing to me yesterday. 'It is all
to C. D.
"heart. There never was, and never will be, such

“‘a triumph.’ And it is a good thing, is it not,
 “. . . to find those fancies it has given me and
 “you the greatest satisfaction to think of, at the
 “core of it all? It makes my heart quieter, and
 “me a more retiring, sober, tranquil man to watch
 “the effect of those thoughts in all this noise and
 “hurry, even than if I sat, pen in hand, to put
 “them down for the first time. I feel, in the best Effect upon himself.
 “aspects of this welcome, something of the pre-
 “sence and influence of that spirit which directs
 “my life, and through a heavy sorrow has pointed
 “upwards with unchanging finger for more than
 “four years past. And if I know my heart, not
 “twenty times this praise would move me to an
 “act of folly.” . . .

BOSTON:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

There were but two days more before the post left for England, and the close of this part of his letter sketched the engagements that awaited him Engage-
ments. on leaving Boston. “We leave here next Saturday. We go to a place called Worcester, about 75 miles off, to the house of the governor of this place; and stay with him all Sunday. On Monday we go on by railroad about 50 miles further to a town called Springfield, where I am met by a ‘reception committee’ from Hartford 20 miles further, and carried on by the multitude: I am sure I don’t know how, but I shouldn’t

BOSTON: "wonder if they appear with a triumphal car. On
1842.

C. D.
 to
 J. F.
 Public ap-
 pearances.

"Wednesday I have a public dinner there. On
 "Friday I shall be obliged to present myself in
 "public again, at a place called Newhaven, about
 "30 miles further. On Saturday evening I hope
 "to be at New York; and there I shall stay ten
 "days or a fortnight. You will suppose that I
 "have enough to do. I am sitting for a portrait
 "and for a bust. I have the correspondence of a
 "secretary of state, and the engagements of a
 "fashionable physician. I have a secretary whom
 "I take on with me. He is a young man of the
 "name of Q; was strongly recommended to me;
 "is most modest, obliging, silent, and willing;
 "and does his work *well*. He boards and lodges
 "at my expense when we travel; and his salary
 "is ten dollars per month—about two pounds five
 "of our English money. There will be dinners
 "and balls at Washington, Philadelphia, Balti-
 "more, and I believe everywhere. In Canada, I
 "have promised to *play* at the theatre with the
 "officers, for the benefit of a charity. We are al-
 "ready weary, at times, past all expression; and
 "I finish this by means of a pious fraud. We
 "were engaged to a party, and have written to
 "say we are both desperately ill. 'Well,'
 "I can fancy you saying, 'but about his impres-

A secretary
 engaged.

“sions of Boston and the Americans?”—Of the latter, I will not say a word until I have seen more of them, and have gone into the interior. I will only say, now, that we have never yet been required to dine at a table d’hôte; that, thus far, our rooms are as much our own here, as they would be at the Clarendon; that but for an odd phrase now and then—such as *Snap of Phrases.* “cold weather; a tongue-y man for a talkative fellow; Possible? as a solitary interrogation; and Yes? for indeed—I should have marked, so far, no difference whatever between the parties here and those I have left behind. The women are very beautiful, but they soon fade; the general breeding is neither stiff nor forward; the good nature, universal. If you ask the way to a place—of some common waterside man, who don’t know you from Adam—he turns and goes with you. Universal deference is paid to ladies; and they walk about at all seasons, wholly unprotected. . . . This hotel is a trifle smaller than *Hotels.* Finsbury-square; and is made so infernally hot (I use the expression advisedly) by means of a furnace with pipes running through the passages, that we can hardly bear it. There are no curtains to the beds, or to the bedroom windows. I am told there never are, hardly, all through

BOSTON:
1842.C. D.
to
J. F.

Bostonians.

BOSTON: "America. The bed-rooms are indeed very bare
 1842.
 C. D.
 to
 J. F.
Bedrooms. "of furniture. Ours is nearly as large as your
 "great room, and has a wardrobe in it of painted
 "wood not larger (I appeal to K) than an Eng-
 "lish watch box. I slept in this room for two
 "nights, quite satisfied with the belief that it was
 "a shower bath."

Personal notices.

The last addition made to this letter, from which many vividest pages of the *Notes* (among them the bright quaint picture of Boston streets) were taken with small alteration, bore date the 29th of January. "I hardly know what to add "to all this long and unconnected history. Dana, "the author of that *Two Years before the Mast*," (a book which I had praised much to him, thinking it like De Foe) "is a very nice fellow indeed; "and in appearance not at all the man you would "expect. He is short, mild-looking, and has a "care-worn face. His father is exactly like George "Cruikshank after a night's jollity—only shorter. "The professors at the Cambridge university, "Longfellow, Felton, Jared Sparks, are noble fel- "lows. So is Kenyon's friend, Ticknor. Bancroft "is a famous man; a straightforward, manly, "earnest heart; and talks much of you, which is "a great comfort. Doctor Channing I will tell "you more of, after I have breakfasted alone with "him next Wednesday. . . . Sumner is of great

"service to me. . . . The president of the Senate
 "here presides at my dinner on Tuesday. Lord
 "Mulgrave lingered with us till last Tuesday (we
 "had our little captain to dinner on the Monday),
 "and then went on to Canada. Kate is quite
 "well, and so is Anne, whose smartness surpasses
 "belief. They yearn for home, and so do I.

BOSTON:
1842.C. D.
to
J. F.

"Of course you will not see in the papers any
 "true account of our voyage, for they keep the
 "dangers of the passage, when there are any, very
 "quiet. I observed so many perils peculiar to Perils of
steamers.
 "steamers that I am still undecided whether we
 "shall not return by one of the New York liners.
 "On the night of the storm, I was wondering
 "within myself where we should be, if the chim-
 "ney were blown overboard: in which case, it
 "needs no great observation to discover that the
 "vessel must be instantly on fire from stem to
 "stern. When I went on deck next day, I saw
 "that it was held up by a perfect forest of chains
 "and ropes, which had been rigged in the night.
 "Hewitt told me (when we were on shore, not
 "before) that they had men lashed, hoisted up,
 "and swinging there, all through the gale, getting
 "these stays about it. This is not agreeable—
 "is it?

"I wonder whether you will remember that ^{A home} thought.

BOSTON: "next Tuesday is my birthday! This letter will
1842.
leave here that morning.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"On looking back through these sheets, I am
"astonished to find how little I have told you,
"and how much I have, even now, in store which
"shall be yours by word of mouth. The American
"poor, the American factories, the institutions of
"all kinds—I have a book, already. There is no
"man in this town, or in this State of New Eng-
"land, who has not a blazing fire and a meat
"dinner every day of his life. A flaming sword
"in the air would not attract so much attention
Beggary. "as a beggar in the streets. There are no charity
"uniforms, no wearisome repetition of the same
Charity. "dull ugly dress, in that blind school.* All are
"attired after their own tastes, and every boy and
"girl has his or her individuality as distinct and
"unimpaired as you would find it in their own
"homes. At the theatres, all the ladies sit in the
"fronts of the boxes. The gallery are as quiet
"as the dress circle at dear Drury-lane. A man
"with seven heads would be no sight at all,
Education. "compared with one who couldn't read and
"write.

"I won't speak (I say 'speak'! I wish I could)

* His descriptions of this school, and of the case of Laura Bridgeman, will be found in the *Notes*; and have therefore been, of course, omitted here.

"about the dear precious children, because I
 "know how much we shall hear about them when
 "we receive those letters from home for which
 "we long so ardently."

BOSTON:
 1842.

C. D.
 J. F.

Unmistakeably to be seen, in this earliest of ^{How first impressed.} his letters, is the quite fresh and unalloyed impression first received by him at this memorable visit; and it is due, as well to himself as to the great country which welcomed him, that this should be considered independently of any modification it afterwards underwent. Of the fervency and universality of the welcome there could indeed be no doubt, and as little that it sprang from feelings honorable both to giver and receiver. The sources of Dickens's popularity in England were in truth multiplied many-fold in America. The hearty, cordial, and humane side of his genius, had fascinated them quite as much; but there was also something beyond this. The cheerful temper that had given new beauty to the commonest forms of life, the abounding humour which had added largely to all innocent enjoyment, the honorable and in those days rare distinction of America which left no home in the ^{Why so popular.} Union inaccessible to such advantages, had made Dickens the object everywhere of grateful admiration, for the most part of personal affection.

^{Reasons for}
 the greeting

BOSTON:
1842.

But even this was not all. I do not say it either to lessen or to increase the value of the tribute, but to express simply what it was; and there cannot be a question that the young English author, whom by his language they claimed equally for their own, was almost universally regarded by the Americans as a kind of embodied protest against what they believed to be worst in the institutions of England, depressing and overshadowing in a social sense, and adverse to purely intellectual influences. In all the papers of every grade in the Union, of which many were sent to me at the time, the feeling of triumph over the mother-country in this particular is everywhere predominant. You worship titles, they said, and military heroes, and millionaires, and we of the New World want to show you, by extending the kind of homage that the Old World reserves for kings and conquerors, to a young man with nothing to distinguish him but his heart and his genius, what it is we think in these parts worthier of honour, than birth, or wealth, a title, or a sword. Well, there was something in this too, apart from a mere crowning over the mother-country. The Americans had honestly more than a common share in the triumphs of a genius, which in more than one sense had made the deserts and wildernesses of life to blossom like the

What was,
welcomed
in C. D.

Old world
and New
world.

rose. They were entitled to select for a welcome, as emphatic as they might please to render it, the writer who pre-eminently in his generation had busied himself to "detect and save," in human creatures, such sparks of virtue as misery or vice had not availed to extinguish; to discover what is beautiful and comely, under what commonly passes for the ungainly and the deformed; to draw happiness and hopefulness from despair itself; and, above all, so to have made known to his own countrymen the wants and sufferings of the poor, the ignorant, and the neglected, that they could be left in absolute neglect no more.

"A triumph has been prepared for him," wrote Ticknor to Kenyon. Mr. Ticknor to our dear friend Kenyon, "in which the whole country will join. He will have a progress through the States unequalled since "Lafayette's." Daniel Webster told the Americans Webster as to C. D. that Dickens had done more already to ameliorate the condition of the English poor than all the statesmen Great Britain had sent into parliament. His sympathies are such, exclaimed Doctor Channing, as to recommend him in an especial manner to us. He seeks out that class, in order to benefit them, with whom American institutions and laws sympathize most strongly; and it is in the passions, sufferings, and virtues of the mass that he has found his subjects of most thrilling

BOSTON: interest. "He shows that life in its rudest form
1842.
Channing as "may wear a tragic grandeur; that amidst follies
to C. D. "and excesses, provoking laughter or scorn, the
"moral feelings do not wholly die; and that the
"haunts of the blackest crime are sometimes
"lighted up by the presence and influence of the
"noblest souls. His pictures have a tendency to
"awaken sympathy with our race, and to change
"the unfeeling indifference which has prevailed
"towards the depressed multitude, into a sorrowful
"and indignant sensibility to their wrongs and woes."

Subsequent
disappoint-
ments.

Whatever may be the turn which we are to see the welcome take, by dissatisfaction that arose on both sides, it is well that we should thus understand what in its first manifestations was honorable to both. Dickens had his disappointments, and the Americans had theirs; but what was really genuine in the first enthusiasm remained without grave alloy from either; and the letters, as I proceed to give them, will so naturally explain and illustrate the mis-understanding as to require little further comment. I am happy to be able here to place on record facsimiles of the invitations to the public entertainments in New York which reached him before he quitted Boston. The mere signatures suffice to show how universal the welcome was from that great city of the Union.

Charles Dickens Esq.

May 24 January 1842

Dear.

The undersigned faithfully
of a kind every of their fellow citizens. here to congratulate
you a happy safe arrival, & thank you for a sincere
& hearty welcome

^{This} presently answering - still on my
affine you, that you are far younger than anyone
among us. - that gives me whilst you have been
so dignifiedly - and whose young step has directed
with such consummate skill in eliciting my feelings
& sympathy. A pliancy of the human mind - has given
to you a perfect to all hearts. - which you happy

of negotiation, an apt illustration - pointing at any time, a practical spiritual teacher - have ready your money as freely to us as household bonds.

In testimony of our respect & high regard
and as a slight, tho' thoughtful, tribute to your genius.
we request that you will accept as early as you can
with your countersigning, to one or in this City at a public
banquet - when, as elsewhere, it will be our good pleasure
to express our gratitude to you for the many kind intelligen-
tial, your name so often expressed before us.

Yours are very truly & cordially yours friends

Washington Irving

William Bassett

David M. Watson

J. S. Webb

Maurice Howells

Henry Mayes.

Theodore Sedgwick
Wm Law Brown
Ed Kennedy
James G. King
Henry Brant
Charles March
Arthur Faraday
Priscilla of
J.W. Tallatin
John A. Day
William King
Maria S. Goldwin.
Lydia Howland
James L. Dow
Jacob H. Tracy
M. C. Patatas
*

Clarke
A. C. Bryant
H. B. Atter
Matthew Livingston
Hamilton Fish
Jos. M. Cogdon
M. H. Wiggin
W. F. Brewinall
Harriet T. Smith
Edward Bassett
W. C. Brewster
Abraham Lincoln
H. H. Ballou
J. Jerome Hobart
C. H. Stuyvesant

New York January 26. 1852

Sir

The citizens of New York having received
the agreeable intelligence of your arrival
in the United States, & appreciating the
value of your labor in the cause of
Humanity, & the eminent success you
have had of your literary talents, are
ambitious to be among the foremost
in tendering to you by your Lady the hearty,
welcome which they are persuaded
is in store for you in all parts of
our Country. With this object in view
we have been appointed a Committee
on behalf of a large meeting of gentlemen
convened for the purpose, to request your
attendance at a public ball to be given
by Charles Dickens Esqre.

in this city.

Mr Coode one of our members will have
the honor of presenting this invitation and
is charged with the greater duty of
presenting their congratulations on
your arrival. We shall expect that
him, your kind acceptance of this
invitation & your designation of the day
when it may suit your convenience
to attend.

We are sir:

With great respect.

Yr O^r Servt's
P.R.T. MOTT Jr

Philip Stone
John Francis.
J.C. Edmonz

Dan'l H. Talmadge
 Chas. L. F. Green
Laura C. Chapman
 Mrs. G. L. Chapman
 Duncan C. Miller
 Rosalie M. Johnson
 A. M. Corson
 John H. Livingston Jr.
 Prof. P. Davis
 James W. South Jr.
 Frank Brangwyn
 W. H. Dally
 D. J. Keyt
 Miss L. L. Jackson
 Mr. Stannett
 G. H. Ellman

Chas. L. Chapman
 Ged. Thompson
 Sam. P. Dunn
 Mrs. Dunn
 Hartman
 A. G. Long
 H. Farnsworth
 Mr. H. H. Aldrich
 Martin Chapman
 G. Jackson, Dick
 James Phelan
 W. H. Dally
 J. Draper
 J. H. Edmiston
 Mr. J. Hartshill
 for Henry

CHAPTER XX.

SECOND IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA.

1842.

His second letter, radiant with the same ^{NEW YORK:} _{1842.} kindly warmth that gave always pre-eminent charm to his genius, was dated from the Carlton-hotel, New York, on the 14th February, but its only allusion of any public interest was to the beginning of his agitation of the question of international copyright. He went to America with ^{Second letter.} _{International copyright.} no express intention of starting this question in any way; and certainly with no belief that such remark upon it as a person in his position could alone be expected to make, would be resented strongly by any sections of the American people. But he was not long left in doubt on this head. He had spoken upon it twice publicly, "to the great indignation of some of the editors here, who are attacking me for so doing, right and left." On the other hand all the best men had assured him, that, if only at once followed up in

NEW YORK: England, the blow struck might bring about a
1842. change in the law; and, yielding to the pleasant hope that the best men could be a match for the worst, he urged me to enlist on his side what force I could, and in particular, as he had made Scott's claim his war cry, to bring Lockhart into the field. I could not do much, but I did what I could.

Three days later he began another letter; and, as this will be entirely new to the reader, I shall print it as it reached me, with only such omission of matter concerning myself as I think it my duty, however reluctantly, to make throughout these extracts. There was nothing in its personal details, or in those relating to international copyright, available for his *Notes*; from which they were excluded by the two rules he observed in that book, the first to be altogether silent as to the copyright discussion, and the second to abstain from all mention of individuals. But there can be no harm here in violating either rule, for, as Sydney Smith said with his humorous sadness, "We are all dead now."

Third letter. "Carlton-house, New York: Thursday, Fe-
"bruary Seventeenth, 1842. . . . As there is a
"sailing-packet from here to England to-morrow
"which is warranted (by the owners) to be a

"marvellous fast sailer, and as it appears most
 "probable that she will reach home (I write the
 "word with a pang) before the Cunard steamer
 "of next month, I indite this letter. And lest
 "this letter should reach you before another letter
 "which I dispatched from here last Monday, let
 "me say in the first place that I *did* dispatch a
 "brief epistle to you on that day, together with
 "a newspaper, and a pamphlet touching the Boz
 "ball; and that I put in the post-office at Boston
 "another newspaper for you containing an ac-
 "count of the dinner, which was just about to
 "come off, you remember, when I wrote to you
 "from that city.

"It was a most superb affair; and the speak- The dinner
at Boston.
 "ing admirable. Indeed the general talent for
 "public speaking here, is one of the most striking
 "of the things that force themselves upon an
 "Englishman's notice. As every man looks on to
 "being a member of Congress, every man prepares
 "himself for it; and the result is quite surprising.
 "You will observe one odd custom—the drinking
 "of sentiments. It is quite extinct with us, but
 "here everybody is expected to be prepared with
 "an epigram as a matter of course.

"We left Boston on the fifth, and went away
 "with the governor of the city to stay till Monday

NEW YORK: "at his house at Worcester. He married a sister
1842.

C. D. "of Bancroft's, and another sister of Bancroft's
to
J. F. "went down with us. The village of Worcester
At Worcester. "is one of the prettiest in New England. . . . On

"Monday morning at nine o'clock we started again
"by railroad and went on to Springfield, where a
"deputation of two were waiting, and everything
"was in readiness that the utmost attention could
"suggest. Owing to the mildness of the weather,
"the Connecticut river was 'open,' videlicet not
"frozen, and they had a steamboat ready to carry

From Springfield to Hartford. "us on to Hartford; thus saving a land-journey
"of only twenty-five miles, but on such roads at
"this time of year that it takes nearly twelve
"hours to accomplish! The boat was very small,
"the river full of floating blocks of ice, and the
"depth where we went (to avoid the ice and the
"current) not more than a few inches. After two

Queer travelling. "hours and a half of this queer travelling we got
At Hartford. "to Hartford. There, there was quite an English
"inn; except in respect of the bed-rooms, which
"are always uncomfortable; and the best commit-
"tee of management that has yet presented itself.
"They kept us more quiet, and were more con-
"siderate and thoughtful, even to their own ex-
"clusion, than any I have yet had to deal with.
"Kate's face being horribly bad, I determined to

"give her a rest here; and accordingly wrote to NEW YORK:
1842.
 "get rid of my engagement at Newhaven, on that C. D.
to
J. F.
 "plea. We remained in this town until the
 "eleventh: holding a formal levee every day for
 "two hours, and receiving on each from two
 "hundred to three hundred people. At five Levees at
Hartford and
Newhaven.
 "o'clock on the afternoon of the eleventh, we set
 "off (still by railroad) for Newhaven, which we
 "reached about eight o'clock. The moment we
 "had had tea, we were forced to open another
 "levee for the students and professors of the col-
 "lege (the largest in the States), and the towns-
 "people. I suppose we shook hands, before going
 "to bed, with considerably more than five hundred
 "people; and I stood, as a matter of course, the
 "whole time . . .

"Now, the deputation of two had come on
 "with us from Hartford; and at Newhaven there
 "was another committee; and the immense fatigue
 "and worry of all this, no words can exaggerate.
 "We had been in the morning over jails and deaf
 "and dumb asylums; had stopped on the journey
 "at a place called Wallingford, where a whole At Walling-
ford.
 "town had turned out to see me, and to gratify
 "whose curiosity the train stopped expressly; had
 "had a day of great excitement and exertion on
 "the Thursday (this being Friday); and were in-

NEW YORK: "expressibly worn out. And when at last we got
 1842.

C. D. "to bed and were 'going' to fall asleep, the
 to
 J. F. "choristers of the college turned out in a body,
 "under the window, and serenaded us! We had

Serenades at "had, by the bye, another serenade at Hartford,
Hartford and "from a Mr. Adams (a nephew of John Quincey
Newhaven. "Adams) and a German friend. *They* were most

"beautiful singers: and when they began, in the
 "dead of the night, in a long, musical, echoing
 "passage outside our chamber door; singing, in
 "low voices to guitars, about home and absent
 "friends and other topics that they knew would
 "interest us; we were more moved than I can tell
 "you. In the midst of my sentimentality though,
 "a thought occurred to me which made me laugh
 "so immoderately that I was obliged to cover my
 "face with the bedclothes. 'Good Heavens!' I
 "said to Kate, 'what a monstrously ridiculous and
 "commonplace appearance my boots must have,
 "outside the door!' I never *was* so impressed
 "with a sense of the absurdity of boots, in all
 "my life.

**Absurdity
of boots.**

"The Newhaven serenade was not so good;
 "though there were a great many voices, and a
 "'reg'lar' band. It hadn't the heart of the other.
 "Before it was six hours old, we were dressing
 "with might and main, and making ready for our

"departure: it being a drive of twenty minutes to NEW YORK:
 "the steamboat, and the hour of sailing nine ————— 1842.
 "o'clock. After a hasty breakfast we started off; C. D.
 "and after another levee on the deck (actually on
 "the deck), and 'three times three for Dickens,'
 "moved towards New York. J. F.

"I was delighted to find on board a Mr. Cornelius C. Felton.
 "Felton whom I had known at Boston. He is
 "the Greek professor at Cambridge, and was
 "going on to the ball and dinner. Like most
 "men of his class whom I have seen, he is
 "a most delightful fellow—unaffected, hearty,
 "genial, jolly; quite an Englishman of the best
 "sort. We drank all the porter on board, ate all
 "the cold pork and cheese, and were very merry
 "indeed. I should have told you, in its proper
 "place, that both at Hartford and Newhaven a re-
 "gular bank was subscribed, by these committees,
 "for *all* my expenses. No bill was to be got at
 "the bar, and everything was paid for. But as I
 "would on no account suffer this to be done,
 "I stoutly and positively refused to budge an inch
 "until Mr. Q should have received the bills from
 "the landlord's own hands, and paid them to the
 "last farthing. Finding it impossible to move me,
 "they suffered me, most unwillingly, to carry the
 "point.

NEW YORK:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.
The Carlton
hotel.

Washington
Irving.

David
Colden.

"About half past 2, we arrived here. In half an hour more, we reached this hotel, where a very splendid suite of rooms was prepared for us; and where everything is very comfortable, "and no doubt (as at Boston) *enormously* dear. "Just as we sat down to dinner, David Colden made his appearance; and when he had gone, "and we were taking our wine, Washington Irving came in alone, with open arms. And here he stopped, until ten o'clock at night." (Through Lord Jeffrey, with whom he was connected by marriage, and Macready, of whom he was the cordial friend, we already knew Mr. Colden; and his subsequent visits to Europe led to many years' intimate intercourse, greatly enjoyed by us both.) "Having got so far, I shall divide my discourse into four points. First, the ball. Secondly, some slight specimens of a certain phase of character in the Americans. Thirdly, international copy-right. Fourthly, my life here, and projects to be carried out while I remain.

"Firstly, the ball. It came off last Monday (vide pamphlet). 'At a quarter past 9, exactly,' '(I quote the printed order of proceeding), we were waited upon by 'David Colden, Esquire, 'and General George Morris;' habited, the former in full ball costume, the latter in the full dress

"uniform of Heaven knows what regiment of NEW YORK:
1842.
 "militia. The general took Kate, Colden gave C. D.
to
J. F.
 "his arm to me, and we proceeded downstairs to The ball.
 "a carriage at the door, which took us to the
 "stage door of the theatre: greatly to the disap-
 "pointment of an enormous crowd who were be-
 "setting the main door, and making a most
 "tremendous hullabaloo. The scene on our en-
 "trance was very striking. There were three
 "thousand people present in full dress; from the
 "roof to the floor, the theatre was decorated mag-
 "nificently; and the light, glitter, glare, show,
 "noise, and cheering, baffle my descriptive powers. Description.
of it.
 "We were walked in through the centre of the
 "centre dress-box, the front whereof was taken
 "out for the occasion; so to the back of the stage,
 "where the mayor and other dignitaries received
 "us; and we were then paraded all round the
 "enormous ball-room, twice, for the gratification
 "of the many-headed. That done, we began to
 "dance—Heaven knows how we did it, for there
 "was no room. And we continued dancing until,
 "being no longer able even to stand, we slipped
 "away quietly, and came back to the hotel. All
 "the documents connected with this extraordinary
 "festival (quite unparalleled here) we have pre-
 "served; so you may suppose that on this head

NEW YORK: "alone we shall have enough to show you when
 1842.

C. D.
 to
 J. F. "we come home. The bill of fare for supper,
 "is, in its amount and extent, quite a curiosity.

"Now, the phase of character in the Ameri-
 "cans which amuses me most, was put before me
 "in its most amusing shape by the circumstances
 "attending this affair. I had noticed it before,
 "and have since, but I cannot better illustrate it
 "than by reference to this theme. Of course I
 "can do nothing but in some shape or other it
 "gets into the newspapers. All manner of lies
 "get there, and occasionally a truth so twisted
 "and distorted that it has as much resemblance
 "to the real fact as Quilp's leg to Taglioni's. But
 "with this ball to come off, the newspapers were
 "if possible unusually loquacious; and in their
 "accounts of me, and my seeings, sayings, and
 "doings on the Saturday night and Sunday be-
 "fore, they describe my manner, mode of speak-
 "ing, dressing, and so forth. In doing this, they
 "report that I am a very charming fellow (of
 "course), and have a very free and easy way with
 "me; 'which,' say they, 'at first amused a few
 "'fashionables;' but soon pleased them exceed-
 "ingly. Another paper, coming after the ball,
 "dwells upon its splendour and brilliancy; hugs
 "itself and its readers upon all that Dickens saw;

A phase of
character.

Newspaper
accounts of
the ball:

"and winds up by gravely expressing its conviction, that Dickens was never in such society in England as he has seen in New York, and that its high and striking tone cannot fail to make an indelible impression on his mind! For the same reason I am always represented, whenever I appear in public, as being 'very pale;' 'apparently thunderstruck,' and utterly confounded by all I see. . . . You recognize the queer vanity which is at the root of all this? I have plenty of stories in connection with it to amuse you with when I return."

NEW YORK:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

"Twenty-fourth February.

"It is unnecessary to say . . . that this letter *didn't* come by the sailing packet, and *will* come by the Cunard boat. After the ball I was laid up with a very bad sore throat, which confined me to the house four whole days; and as I was unable to write, or indeed to do anything but doze and drink lemonade, I missed the ship. . . . I have still a horrible cold, and so has Kate, but in other respects we are all right. I proceed to my third head: the international copyright question.

"I believe there is no country, on the face of the earth, where there is less freedom of opinion in America.

NEW YORK: "on any subject in reference to which there is a
1842.

C. D. "broad difference of opinion, than in this.—

^{to}
J. F. "There!—I write the words with reluctance, dis-

"appointment, and sorrow; but I believe it from
"the bottom of my soul. I spoke, as you know,

International "of international copyright, at Boston; and I spoke
copyright.

"of it again at Hartford. My friends were para-
"lysed with wonder at such audacious daring.

"The notion that I, a man alone by himself, in
"America, should venture to suggest to the Amer-
"icans that there was one point on which they
"were neither just to their own countrymen nor
"to us, actually struck the boldest dumb! Wash-

American
authors. "ington Irving, Prescott, Hoffman, Bryant, Halleck,
"Dana, Washington Allston—every man who writes
"in this country is devoted to the question, and
"not one of them *dares* to raise his voice and
"complain of the atrocious state of the law. It is
"nothing that of all men living I am the greatest
"loser by it. It is nothing that I have a claim to
"speak and be heard. The wonder is that a
"breathing man can be found with temerity enough
"to suggest to the Americans the possibility of
"their having done wrong. I wish you could
"have seen the faces that I saw, down both sides
"of the table at Hartford, when I began to talk
"about Scott. I wish you could have heard how

"I gave it out. My blood so boiled as I thought NEW YORK:
1842.
 "of the monstrous injustice that I felt as if I were C. D.
 "twelve feet high when I thrust it down their to
J. F.
 "throats.

"I had no sooner made that second speech Outcry
against the
guest of the
nation.

"deterring me from doing the like in this city) as

"an Englishman can form no notion of. Anony-

"mous letters; verbal dissuasions; newspaper at-

"tacks making Colt (a murderer who is attract-

"ing great attention here) an angel by comparison

"with me; assertions that I was no gentleman,

"but a mere mercenary scoundrel; coupled with

"the most monstrous mis-representations relative

"to my design and purpose in visiting the United

"States; came pouring in upon me every day.

"The dinner committee here (composed of the

"first gentlemen in America, remember that) were

"so dismayed, that they besought me not to pur-

"sue the subject *although they every one agreed*

"*with me.* I answered that I would. That nothing

"should deter me.... That the shame was theirs,

"not mine; and that as I would not spare them

"when I got home, I would not be silenced here.

"Accordingly, when the night came, I asserted

"my right, with all the means I could command

"to give it dignity, in face, manner, or words;

Asked not
to speak on
copyright.

Declines to
comply.

NEW YORK: "and I believe that if you could have seen and
1842.
C. D. "heard me, you would have loved me better for
 to
J. F. "it than ever you did in your life.

**New York
 Herald.** "The *New York Herald*, which you will re-
 ceive with this, is the *Satirist of America*; but
 "having a great circulation (on account of its
 "commercial intelligence and early news) it can
 "afford to secure the best reporters.... My speech
**Speech at
 dinner.** "is done, upon the whole, with remarkable ac-
 "curacy. There are a great many typographical
 "errors in it; and by the omission of one or two
 "words, or the substitution of one word for
 "another, it is often materially weakened. Thus
 "I did not say that I 'claimed' my right, but that
 "I 'asserted' it; and I did not say that I had
 "'some claim,' but that I had 'a most righteous
 "claim,' to speak. But altogether it is very cor-
 "rect."

**Washington
 Irving in the
 chair.**

Washington Irving was chairman of this dinner, and having from the first a dread that he should break down in his speech, the catastrophe came accordingly. Near him sat the Cambridge professor who had come with Dickens by boat from Newhaven, with whom already a warm friendship had been formed that lasted for life, and who has pleasantly sketched what happened. Mr.

NEW YORK:
1842.

Felton saw Irving constantly in the interval of preparation, and could not but despond at his daily iterated foreboding of *I shall certainly break down*: though, besides the real dread, there was a sly humour which heightened its whimsical horror with an irresistible drollery. But the professor plucked up hope a little when the night came, and he saw that Irving had laid under his plate the manuscript of his speech. During dinner, nevertheless, his old foreboding cry was still heard, and "at last the moment arrived; Mr. Irving rose; "and the deafening and long-continued applause "by no means lessened his apprehension. He began in his pleasant voice; got through two or "three sentences pretty easily, but in the next "hesitated; and, after one or two attempts to go on, gave it up, with a graceful allusion to the "tournament and the troop of knights all armed "and eager for the fray; and ended with the toast "CHARLES DICKENS, THE GUEST OF THE NATION. "There! said he, as he resumed his seat amid "applause as great as had greeted his rising, "There! I told you I should break down, and I've done it!" He was in London a few months later, on his way to Spain; and I heard Thomas Moore describe* at Rogers's table the difficulty

Irving's
break-down.

* On the 22nd of May, 1842.

NEW YORK: there had been to overcome his reluctance, because of this break-down, to go to the dinner of the Literary Fund on the occasion of Prince Albert's presiding. "However," said Moore, "I told him only to attempt a few words, and I suggested what they should be, and he said 'he'd never thought of anything so easy, and he 'went and did famously.' I knew very well, as I listened, that this had *not* been the result; but as the distinguished American had found himself, on this second occasion, not among orators as in New York, but among men as unable as himself to speak in public, and equally able to do better things,* he was doubtless more reconciled to his own failure. I have been led to this digression by Dickens's silence on his friend's break-down. He had so great a love for Irving that it was painful to speak of him as at any disadvantage,

Laman
Blanchard
to
J. F.

* The dinner was on the 10th of May, and early the following morning I had a letter about it from Mr. Blanchard, containing these words: "Washington Irving couldn't utter 'a word for trembling, and Moore was as little as usual. 'But, poor Tom Campbell, great Heavens! what a spectacle! 'Amid roars of laughter he began a sentence three times 'about something that Dugald Stewart or Lord Bacon had 'said, and never could get beyond those words. The Prince 'was capital, though deucedly frightened. He seems un-'affected and amiable, as well as very clever."

and of the New York dinner he wrote only in its NEW YORK:
1842.

"The effect of all this copyright agitation at ^{Results of}
 "least has been to awaken a great sensation on ^{copyright}
 "both sides of the subject; the respectable news-
 "papers and reviews taking up the cudgels as
 "strongly in my favour, as the others have done
 "against me. Some of the vagabonds take great
 "credit to themselves (grant us patience!) for hav-
 "ing made me popular by publishing my books
 "in newspapers: as if there were no England, no
 "Scotland, no Germany, no place but America in
 "the whole world. A splendid satire upon this
 "kind of trash has just occurred. A man came
 "here yesterday, and demanded, not besought ^{A demand}
 "but demanded, pecuniary assistance; and fairly
 "bullied Mr. Q for money. When I came home,
 "I dictated a letter to this effect—that such ap-
 "plications reached me in vast numbers every day;
 "that if I were a man of fortune, I could not
 "render assistance to all who sought it; and that,
 "depending on my own exertion for all the help
 "I could give, I regretted to say I could afford
 "him none. Upon this, my gentleman sits down
 "and writes me that he is an itinerant bookseller;

C. D.
 to
 J. F.

NEW YORK: "that he is the first man who sold my books in
 1842.
 ————— C. D.
 to J. F.
 A bookseller in distress. "New York; that he is distressed in the city where
 "I am revelling in luxury; that he thinks it rather
 "strange that the man who wrote *Nickleby* should
 "be utterly destitute of feeling; and that he would
 "have me 'take care I don't repent it.' What do
 "you think of *that*?—as Mac would say. I thought
 "it such a good commentary, that I dispatched
 "the letter to the editor of the only English news-
 "paper here, and told him he might print it if he
 "liked.

A suggestion. "I will tell you what *I* should like, my dear
 "friend, always supposing that your judgment con-
 "curs with mine; and that you would take the
 "trouble to get such a document. I should like
 "to have a short letter addressed to me, by the
 "principal English authors who signed the inter-
 "national copyright petition, expressive of their
 "sense that I have done my duty to the cause. I
 "am sure I deserve it, but I don't wish it on that
 "ground. It is because its publication in the best
 "journals here would unquestionably do great
 "good. As the gauntlet is down, let us go on.

Henry Clay's opinion. "Clay has already sent a gentleman to me ex-
 "press from Washington (where I shall be on the
 "6th or 7th of next month) to declare his strong
 "interest in the matter, his cordial approval of

"the 'manly' course I have held in reference to it, NEW YORK:
1842.
 "and his desire to stir in it if possible. I have C. D.
to
J. F.
 "lighted up such a blaze that a meeting of the
 "foremost people on the other side (very respect-
 "fully and properly conducted in reference to me,
 "personally, I am bound to say) was held in this
 "town 'tother night. And it would be a thousand
 "pities if we did not strike as hard as we can,
 "now that the iron is so hot.

"I have come at last, and it is time I did, to Life in
New York.

"my life here, and intentions for the future. I
 "can do nothing that I want to do, go nowhere
 "where I want to go, and see nothing that I want
 "to see. If I turn into the street, I am followed
 "by a multitude. If I stay at home, the house
 "becomes, with callers, like a fair. If I visit a
 "public institution, with only one friend, the
 "directors come down incontinently, waylay me
 "in the yard, and address me in a long speech.

"I go to a party in the evening, and am so in- Distresses of —
popularity.
 "closed and hemmed about by people, stand
 "where I will, that I am exhausted for want of
 "air. I dine out, and have to talk about every-
 "thing, to everybody. I go to church for quiet,
 "and there is a violent rush to the neighbourhood
 "of the pew I sit in, and the clergyman preaches
 "at me. I take my seat in a railroad car, and

NEW YORK: "the very conductor won't leave me alone. I get
1842.

C. D. — "out at a station, and can't drink a glass of water,
to
J. F. "without having a hundred people looking down my
"throat when I open my mouth to swallow. Conceive
"what all this is! Then by every post, letters on
"letters arrive, all about nothing, and all demand-
"ing an immediate answer. This man is offended
"because I won't live in his house; and that man
"is thoroughly disgusted because I won't go out
"more than four times in one evening. I have
"no rest or peace, and am in a perpetual worry.

**Intentions for
the future.** "Under these febrile circumstances, which this

"climate especially favors, I have come to the re-
"solution that I will not (so far as my will has
"anything to do with the matter) accept any more
"public entertainments or public recognitions of
"any kind, during my stay in the United States;
"and in pursuance of this determination I have
"refused invitations from Philadelphia, Baltimore,
"Washington, Virginia, Albany, and Providence.
"Heaven knows whether this will be effectual, but
"I shall soon see, for on Monday morning the
"28th we leave for Philadelphia. There, I shall
"only stay three days. Thence we go to Balti-
"more, and *there* I shall only stay three days.
"Thence to Washington, where we may stay per-
"haps ten days; perhaps not so long. Thence to

**Refusal of
invitations.**

"Virginia, where we may halt for one day; and ^{NEW YORK:}
 "thence to Charleston, where we may pass a week ^{1842.}
 "perhaps; and where we shall very likely remain ^{C. D.}
 "until your March letters reach us, through David ^{J. F.}
 "Colden. I had a design of going from Charleston
 "to Columbia in South Carolina, and there en-
 "gaging a carriage, a baggage-tender and negro
 "boy to guard the same, and a saddle-horse for
 "myself—with which caravan I intended going
 "'right away,' as they say here, into the west, ^{and west.}
 "through the wilds of Kentucky and Tennessee,
 "across the Alleghany-mountains, and so on until
 "we should strike the lakes and could get to
 "Canada. But it has been represented to me
 "that this is a track only known to travelling mer-
 "chants; that the roads are bad, the country a
 "tremendous waste, the inns log-houses, and the
 "journey one that would play the very devil with
 "Kate. I am staggered, but not deterred. If I
 "find it possible to be done in the time, I mean
 "to do it; being quite satisfied that without some
 "such dash, I can never be a free agent, or see
 "anything worth the telling.

"We mean to return home in a packet-ship—^{As to return.}
 "not a steamer. Her name is the George Wash-
 "ington, and she will sail from here, for Liverpool,
 "on the seventh of June. At that season of the

NEW YORK: "year, they are seldom more than three weeks
1842.

C. D. "making the voyage; and I never will trust myself
to
J. F. "upon the wide ocean, if it please Heaven, in a
"steamer again. When I tell you all that I ob-
"served on board that Britannia, I shall astonish
"you. Meanwhile, consider two of their dangers.

Dangers in-
cident to
steamers. "First, that if the funnel were blown overboard,
"the vessel must instantly be on fire, from stem
"to stern: to comprehend which consequence, you
"have only to understand that the funnel is more
"than 40 feet high, and that at night you see the
"solid fire two or three feet above its top. Imagine
"this swept down by a strong wind, and picture
"to yourself the amount of flame on deck; and
"that a strong wind is likely to sweep it down
"you soon learn, from the precautions taken to
"keep it up in a storm, when it is the first thing

Two named. "thought of. Secondly, each of these boats con-
"sumes between London and Halifax 700 tons of
"coals; and it is pretty clear, from this enormous
"difference of weight in a ship of only 1200 tons
"burden in all, that she must either be too heavy
"when she comes out of port, or too light when
"she goes in. The daily difference in her rolling,
"as she burns the coals out, is something ab-
"solutely fearful. Add to all this, that by day
"and night she is full of fire and people, that she

"has no boats, and that the struggling of that NEW YORK:
1842.
 "enormous machinery in a heavy sea seems as C. D.
to
J. F.
 "though it would rend her into fragments—and
 "you may have a pretty con-siderable damned
 "good sort of a feeble notion that it don't fit no-
 "how; and that it a'nt calculated to make you
 "smart, overmuch; and that you don't feel 'special
 "bright; and by no means first rate; and not at
 "all tonguey (or disposed for conversation); and Pure Ameri-
canisms.
 "that however rowdy you may be by natur', it
 "does use you up com-plete, and that's a fact;
 "and makes you quake considerable, and disposed
 "toe damn the ḧngine!—All of which phrases, I
 "beg to add, are pure Americanisms of the first
 "water.

"When we reach Baltimore, we are in the ~~slavery~~.
 "regions of slavery. It exists there, in its least
 "shocking and most mitigated form; but there it
 "is. They whisper, here (they dare only whisper,
 "you know, and that below their breaths), that on
 "that place, and all through the South, there is
 "a dull gloomy cloud on which the very word
 "seems written. I shall be able to say, one of
 "these days, that I accepted no public mark of
 "respect in any place where slavery was;—and
 "that's something.

"The ladies of America are decidedly and

NEW YORK: "unquestionably beautiful. Their complexions are
 1842.
 C. D. "not so good as those of Englishwomen; their
 to "beauty does not last so long; and their figures
 J. F. "are very inferior. But they are most beautiful.
 Ladies of "I still reserve my opinion of the national char-
 America. "acter—just whispering that I tremble for a radical
 "coming here, unless he is a radical on principle,
 "by reason and reflection, and from the sense of
 "right. I fear that if he were anything else, he
 "would return home a tory. I say no more
 "on that head for two months from this time,
 "save that I do fear that the heaviest blow ever
 "dealt at liberty will be dealt by this country, in
 "the failure of its example to the earth. The
 "scenes that are passing in Congress now, all
 "tending to the separation of the States, fill one
 "with such a deep disgust that I dislike the very
 "name of Washington (meaning the place, not the
 "man), and am repelled by the mere thought of
 "approaching it.

Party conflicts.

"Twenty-seventh February. & Sunday.

**A Cunard
steamer
missing.**

"There begins to be great consternation here,
 "in reference to the Cunard packet which (we
 "suppose) left Liverpool on the fourth. She has
 "not yet arrived. We scarcely know what to do
 "with ourselves in our extreme anxiety to get let-

"ters from home. I have really had serious NEW YORK:
1842.
 "thoughts of going back to Boston, alone, to be
 "nearer news. We have determined to remain
 "here until Tuesday afternoon, if she should not
 "arrive before, and to send Mr. Q and the lug-
 "gage on to Philadelphia to-morrow morning.
 "God grant she may not have gone down: but Misgivings.
 "every ship that comes in brings intelligence of
 "a terrible gale (which indeed was felt ashore
 "here) on the night of the fourteenth; and the
 "sea-captains swear (not without some prejudice
 "of course) that no steamer could have lived
 "through it, supposing her to have been in its
 "full fury. As there is no steam packet to go to
 "England, supposing the Caledonia not to arrive, Non-arrival
of Caledonia.
 "we are obliged to send our letters by the Garrick
 "ship, which sails early to-morrow morning. Con-
 "sequently I must huddle this up, and dispatch it
 "to the post-office with all speed. I have so much
 "to say that I could fill quires of paper, which
 "renders this sudden pull-up the more provoking.

"I have in my portmanteau a petition for an Petition for
Congress.
 "international copyright law, signed by all the
 "best American writers with Washington Irving
 "at their head. They have requested me to hand
 "it to Clay for presentation, and to back it with
 "any remarks I may think proper to offer. So

NEW YORK: "Hoo-roar for the principle, as the money-lender
 1842.
 C. D. — "said, ven he vouldn't renoo the bill."

to
 J. F.

"God bless you. . . . You know what I would say about home and the darlings. A hundred times God bless you. . . . Fears are entertained for Lord Ashburton also. Nothing has been heard of him."

A brief letter, sent me next day by the minister's bag, was in effect a postscript to the foregoing; and expressed still more strongly the doubts and apprehensions his voyage out had impressed him with, and which, though he afterwards saw reason greatly to modify his misgivings, were not so strange at that time as they appear to us now.

No hope of
the Cale-
donia.

"Carlton-house, New York, February twenty-eighth, 1842 . . . The Caledonia, I grieve and regret to say, has not arrived. If she left England to her time, she has been four and twenty days at sea. There is no news of her; and on the nights of the fourteenth and eighteenth it blew a terrible gale, which almost justifies the worst suspicions. For myself, I have hardly any hope of her; having seen enough, in our passage out, to convince me that steaming across the

"ocean in heavy weather is as yet an experiment
"of the utmost hazard.

"As it was supposed that there would be no
"steamer whatever for England this month (since
"in ordinary course the Caledonia would have
"returned with the mails on the 2nd of March),
"I hastily got the letters ready yesterday and sent
"them by the Garrick; which may perhaps be
"three weeks out, but is not very likely to be
"longer. But belonging to the Cunard company
"is a boat called the Unicorn, which in the
"summer time plies up the St. Lawrence, and
"brings passengers from Canada to join the
"British and North American steamers at Halifax.
"In the winter she lies at the last-mentioned
"place; from which news has come this morning
"that they have sent her on to Boston for the
"mails; and, rather than interrupt the communica-
"tion, mean to dispatch her to England in lieu
"of the poor Caledonia. This in itself, by the
way, is a daring deed; for she was originally
built to run between Liverpool and Glasgow,
and is no more designed for the Atlantic than
a Calais packet-boat; though she once crossed
it, in the summer season.

"You may judge, therefore, what the owners
think of the probability of the Caledonia's ar-

NEW YORK:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Substitute
for the
Caledonia.

NEW YORK: "rival. How slight an alteration in our plans
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F. "would have made us passengers on board of
"her!

"It would be difficult to tell you, my dear fellow, what an impression this has made upon our minds, or with what intense anxiety and suspense we have been waiting for your letters from home. We were to have gone South to-day, but linger here until to-morrow afternoon (having sent the secretary and luggage forward) for one more chance of news. Love to dear Macready, and to dear Mac, and every one we care for. It's useless to speak of the dear children. It seems now as though we should never hear of them.

Of distinguished Americans.

"P.S. Washington Irving is *a great* fellow. We have laughed most heartily together. He is just the man he ought to be. So is Doctor Channing, with whom I have had an interesting correspondence since I saw him last at Boston. Halleck is a merry little man. Bryant a sad one, and very reserved. Washington Allston the painter (who wrote *Monaldi*) is a fine specimen of a glorious old genius. Longfellow, whose volume of poems I have got for you, is a frank accomplished man as well as a fine writer, and will be in town 'next fall.' Tell

“Macready that I suspect prices here must have NEW YORK:
1842.
 “rather altered since his time. I paid our fort-
 “night’s bill here, last night. We have dined out
 “every day (except when I was laid up with a
 “sore throat), and only had in all four bottles of
 “wine. The bill was 70*l.* English !!!

“You will see, by my other letter, how we
 “have been fêted and feasted; and how there is
 “war to the knife about the international copy-
 “right; and how I *will* speak about it, and de-
 “cline to be put down

“Oh for news from home! I think of your Thoughts of
the children.
 “letters so full of heart and friendship, with per-
 “haps a little scrawl of Charley’s or Mamey’s, lying
 “at the bottom of the deep sea; and am as full
 “of sorrow as if they had once been living crea-
 “tures.—Well! they *may* come, yet.”

They did reach him, but not by the Caledonia. Disaster to
the Cale-
donia.
 His fears as to that vessel were but too well founded. On the very day when she was due in Boston (the 18th of February) it was learnt in London that she had undergone misadventure; that, her decks having been swept and her rudder torn away, though happily no lives were lost,

NEW YORK: she had returned disabled to Cork; and that the
 1842.
Acadia takes Acadia, having received her passengers and mails,
 her place. was to sail with them from Liverpool next day.

International
copyright.

Of the main subject of that letter written on the day preceding; of the quite unpremeditated impulse, out of which sprang his advocacy of claims which he felt to be represented in his person; of the injustice done by his entertainers to their guest in ascribing such advocacy to selfishness; and of the graver wrong done by them to their own highest interests, nay, even to their commonest and most vulgar interests, in continuing to reject those claims; I will add nothing now to what all those years ago I laboured very hard to lay before many readers. It will be enough if I here print, from the authors' letters I sent out to him by the next following mail in compliance with his wish, this which follows from a very dear friend of his and mine. I fortunately had it transcribed before I posted it to him; Mr. Carlyle having in some haste written from "Templand, 26 March, 1842," and taken no copy.

Letter to
Dickens from
Carlyle.

"We learn by the newspapers that you every-
 "where in America stir up the question of inter-
 "national copyright, and thereby awaken huge
 "dissonance where all else were triumphant unison

"for you. I am asked my opinion of the matter, New York:
1842.
"and requested to write it down in words. Carlyle to
C. D.

"Several years ago, if memory err not, I was "one of many English writers, who, under the "auspices of Miss Martineau, did already sign a "petition to congress praying for an international "copyright between the two Nations,—which pro- "perly are not two Nations, but one; *indivisible* "by parliament, congress, or any kind of human "law or diplomacy, being already *united* by "Heaven's Act of Parliament, and the everlasting "law of Nature and Fact. To that opinion I still "adhere, and am like to continue adhering.

"In discussion of the matter before any con- "gress or parliament, manifold considerations and "argumentations will necessarily arise; which to "me are not interesting, nor essential for helping "me to a decision. They respect the time and "manner in which the thing should be; not at all "whether the thing should be or not. In an "ancient book, reverenced I should hope on both "sides of the Ocean, it was thousands of years "ago written down in the most decisive and ex- "plicit manner, 'Thou *shalt not* steal.' That thou Argument
against
stealing. "belongest to a different 'Nation,' and canst steal "without being certainly hanged for it, gives thee "no permission to steal! Thou *shalt not* in any-

NEW YORK: "wise steal at all! So it is written down, for
1842.
Carlyle to C. D. "Nations and for Men, in the Law-Book of the
"Maker of this Universe. Nay, poor Jeremy Bent-
"ham and others step in here, and will demon-
"strate that it is actually our true convenience and
"expediency not to steal; which I for my share,
"on the great scale and on the small, and in all
"conceivable scales and shapes, do also firmly
"believe it to be. For example, if Nations ab-
"stained from stealing, what need were there of
"fighting,—with its butcherings and burnings, de-
"cidedly the most expensive thing in this world?
"How much more two Nations, which, as I said,
"are but one Nation; knit in a thousand ways by
"Nature and Practical Intercourse; indivisible
"brother elements of the same great SAXONDOM,
"to which in all honorable ways be long life!"

Rob Roy's plan:

not the best. "When Mr. Robert Roy M'Gregor lived in the
"district of Menteith on the Highland border two
"centuries ago, he for his part found it more
"convenient to supply himself with beef by stealing
"it alive from the adjacent glens, than by buying
"it killed in the Stirling butchers'-market. It was
"Mr. Roy's plan of supplying himself with beef
"in those days, this of stealing it. In many a
"little 'Congress' in the district of Menteith, there
"was debating, doubt it not, and much specious

"argumentation this way and that, before they ^{NEW YORK:}
"could ascertain that, really and truly, buying ^{1842.}
"was the best way to get your beef; which how-
"ever in the long run they did with one assent
"find it indisputably to be: and accordingly they
"hold by it to this day."

This brave letter was an important service ren-
dered at a critical time, and Dickens was very
grateful for it. But, as time went on, he had
other and higher causes for gratitude to its writer.
Admiration of Carlyle increased in him with his
years; and there was no one whom in later life
he honoured so much, or had a more profound
regard for.

C. D.'s
admiration
of Carlyle.

CHAPTER XXI.

PHILADELPHIA, WASHINGTON, AND THE SOUTH.

1842.

PHILADEL-
PHIA:
1842.

DICKENS'S next letter was begun in the "United-states-hotel, Philadelphia," and bore date "Sunday, sixth March, 1842." It treated of much dealt with afterwards at greater length in the *Notes*, but the freshness and vivacity of the first impressions in it have surprised me. I do not however print any passage here which has not its own interest independently of anything contained in that book. The rule will be continued, as in the portions of letters already given, of not transcribing anything before printed, or anything having even but a near resemblance to descriptions that appear in the *Notes*.

C. D.
to
J. F.

" As this is likely to be the "only quiet day I shall have for a long time, I "devote it to writing to you. We have heard no- "thing from you* yet, and only have for our con-

* At the top of the sheet, above the address and date,

"solation the reflection that the Columbia* is "now on her way out. No news had been heard "of the Caledonia yesterday afternoon, when we "left New York. We *were* to have quitted that "place last Tuesday, but have been detained "there all the week by Kate having so bad a "sore throat that she was obliged to keep her "bed. We left yesterday afternoon at five o'clock; "and arrived here at eleven last night. Let me "say, by the way, that this is a very trying "climate.

PHILADELPHIA:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

"I have often asked Americans in London Promise as to "which were the better railroads—ours or theirs? "They have taken time for reflection, and gener-ally replied on mature consideration that they "rather thought we excelled; in respect of the "punctuality with which we arrived at our stations, "and the smoothness of our travelling. I wish "you could see what an American railroad is, in "some parts where I now have seen them. I "won't say I wish you could feel what it is, be-cause that would be an unchristian and savage "aspiration. It is never inclosed, or warded off.

are the words "Read on. We *have* your precious letters, "but you'll think, at first, we have not. C. D."

* The ship next in rotation to the Caledonia from Liverpool.

PHILADEL.
PHIA:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Experience of "You walk down the main street of a large town:

"and, slap-dash, headlong, pell-mell, down the middle of the street; with pigs burrowing, and boys flying kites and playing marbles, and men smoking, and women talking, and children crawling, close to the very rails; there comes tearing along a mad locomotive with its train of them.

"cars, scattering a red-hot shower of sparks (from its *wood* fire) in all directions; screeching, hissing, yelling, and panting; and nobody one atom more concerned than if it were a hundred miles away. You cross a turnpike-road; and there is no gate, no policeman, no signal—nothing to keep the wayfarer or quiet traveller out of the way, but a wooden arch on which is written in great letters 'Look out for the locomotive.' And if any man, woman, or child, don't look out, why it's his or her fault, and there's an end of it.

"The cars are like very shabby omnibuses—only larger; holding sixty or seventy people. The seats, instead of being placed long ways, are put cross-wise, back to front. Each holds two. There is a long row of these on each side of the caravan, and a narrow passage up the centre. The windows are usually all closed, and there is very often, in addition, a hot;

Railway cars. "two. There is a long row of these on each side

"close, most intolerable charcoal stove in a red-hot glow. The heat and closeness are quite insupportable. But this is the characteristic of all American houses, of all the public institutions, apels, theatres, and prisons. From the constant use of the hard anthracite coal in these astly furnaces, a perfectly new class of diseases springing up in the country. Their effect on an Englishman is briefly told. He is always very sick and very faint; and has an infernal headache, morning, noon, and night.

PHILADELPHIA:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.
Charcoal
stoves.

'In the ladies' car, there is no smoking of Ladies' cars.acco allowed. All gentlemen who have ladies h them, sit in this car; and it is usually very l. Before it, is the gentlemen's car; which is something narrower. As I had a window close "to me yesterday which commanded this gen-tlemen's car, I looked at it pretty often, perforce. "The flashes of saliva flew so perpetually and "incessantly out of the windows all the way, that "it looked as though they were ripping open "feather-beds inside, and letting the wind dispose "of the feathers.* But this spitting is universal. "In the courts of law, the judge has his spittoon "on the bench, the counsel have theirs, the wit-

* This comparison is employed in another descriptive passage to be found in the *Notes* (Tauchn. Ed. p. 117).

PHILADEL-
PHIA:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

Spittoons.

"ness has his, the prisoner his, and the crier his.
 "The jury are accommodated at the rate of three
 "men to a spittoon (or spit-box as they call it
 "here); and the spectators in the gallery are
 "provided for, as so many men who in the course
 "of nature expectorate without cessation. There
 "are spit-boxes in every steamboat, bar-room,
 "public dining-room, house of office, and place
 "of general resort, no matter what it be. In the
 "hospitals, the students are requested, by placard,
 "to use the boxes provided for them, and not to
 "spit upon the stairs. I have twice seen gen-
 "tlemen, at evening parties in New York, turn
 "aside when they were not engaged in conversa-
 "tion, and spit upon the drawing-room carpet.
 "And in every bar-room and hotel passage the
 "stone floor looks as if it were paved with open
 "oysters—from the quantity of this kind of deposit
 "which tesselates it all over . . .

Contrasts in
Massachu-
sets and New
York.

"The institutions at Boston, and at Hartford,
 "are most admirable. It would be very difficult
 "indeed to improve upon them. But this is not
 "so at New York; where there is an ill-managed
 "lunatic asylum, a bad jail, a dismal workhouse,
 "and a perfectly intolerable place of police-impris-
 "onment. A man is found drunk in the streets,
 "and is thrown into a cell below the surface of

"the earth; profoundly dark; so full of noisome
"vapours that when you enter it with a candle
"you see a ring about the light, like that which
"surrounds the moon in wet and cloudy weather;
"and so offensive and disgusting in its filthy
"odours, that you *cannot bear* its stench. He is
"shut up within an iron door, in a series of
"vaulted passages where no one stays; has no
"drop of water, or ray of light, or visitor, or help
"of any kind; and there he remains until the
"magistrate's arrival. If he die (as one man did
"not long ago) he is half eaten by the rats in an
"hour's time (as this man was). I expressed, on
"seeing these places the other night, the disgust
"I felt, and which it would be impossible to re-
"press. 'Well; I don't know,' said the night con-
"stable—that's a national answer by the bye—
"'Well; I don't know. I've had six and twenty
"'young women locked up here together, and
"'beautiful ones too, and that's a fact.' The cell
"was certainly no larger than the wine-cellar in
"Devonshire-terrace; at least three feet lower;
"and stunk like a common sewer. There was
"one woman in it, then. The magistrate begins
"his examinations at five o'clock in the morning;
"the watch is set at seven at night; if the pri-
"soners have been given in charge by an officer,

PHILADEL-
PHIA:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

Police-cells in
New York.

"And that's a
fact!"

PHILADEL-

PHIA:
1842.C. D.
to
J. F.

"they are not taken out before nine or ten; and "in the interval they remain in these places, "where they could no more be heard to cry for "help, in case of a fit or swoon among them, "than a man's voice could be heard after he was "coffined up in his grave.

Prisons.

"There is a prison in this same city, and "indeed in the same building, where prisoners "for grave offences await their trial, and to which "they are sent back when under remand. It "sometimes happens that a man or woman will "remain here for twelve months, waiting the result "of motions for new trial, and in arrest of judg- "ment, and what not. I went into it the other "day: without any notice or preparation, other- "wise I find it difficult to catch them in their

House of de-
tention in
New York.

"work-a-day aspect. I stood in a long, high, "narrow building, consisting of four galleries one "above the other, with a bridge across each, on "which sat a turnkey, sleeping or reading as the "case might be. From the roof, a couple of "windsails dangled and drooped, limp and use- "less; the skylight being fast closed, and they "only designed for summer use. In the centre "of the building was the eternal stove; and along "both sides of every gallery was a long row of "iron doors—looking like furnace doors, being

"very small, but black and cold as if the fires
"within had gone out.

"A man with keys appears, to show us round.
"A good-looking fellow, and, in his way, civil
"and obliging." (I omit a dialogue of which the
substance has been printed,* and give only that
which appears for the first time here.)

"Suppose a man's here for twelve months.
"Do you mean to say he never comes out at
"that little iron door?"

"He *may* walk some, perhaps—not much."

"Will you show me a few of them?"

"Ah! All, if you like."

"He threw open a door, and I looked in. An A-prisoner.
"old man was sitting on his bed, reading. The
"light came in through a small chink, very high
"up in the wall. Across the room ran a thick
"iron pipe to carry off filth; this was bored for
"the reception of something like a big funnel in
"shape; and over the funnel was a watercock.
"This was his washing apparatus and water-closet.
"It was not savoury, but not very offensive. He
"looked up at me; gave himself an odd, dogged
"kind of shake; and fixed his eyes on his book
"again. I came out, and the door was shut and

PHILADELPHIA:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

* *Notes*, Tauchn. Ed. pp. 99. 100.

PHILA-
DEL-
PIA:
1849.

O. D.
to
J. F.

Women
prisoners.

Boy
prisoner

"locked. He had been there a month, and would "have to wait another month for his trial. 'Has "'he ever walked out now, for instance?' "'No.' . . .

"In England, if a man is under sentence of "death even, he has a yard to walk in at certain "times.'

"Possible?"

" . . . Making me this answer with a coolness "which is perfectly untranslateable and inexpress- "sible, and which is quite peculiar to the soil, he "took me to the women's side; telling me, upon "the way, all about this man, who, it seems, mur- "dered his wife, and will certainly be hanged. "The women's doors have a small square aper- "ture in them; I looked through one, and saw a

"pretty boy about ten or twelve years old, who "seemed lonely and miserable enough—as well "he might. 'What's *he* been doing?' says I. 'No- "'thing' says my friend. 'Nothing!' says I. 'No,' "says he. 'He's here for safe keeping. He saw "'his father kill his mother, and is detained to "'give evidence against him—that was his father, "'you saw just now.' 'But that's rather hard treat- "'ment for a witness, isn't it?'—'Well! I don't "'know. It a'nt a very rowdy life, and *that's* a "'fact.' So my friend, who was an excellent fel-

"low in his way, and very obliging, and a hand-
"some young man to boot, took me off to show
"me some more curiosities; and I was very much
"obliged to him, for the place was so hot, and I
"so giddy, that I could scarcely stand. . . .

"When a man is hanged in New York, he is
"walked out of one of these cells, without any
"condemned sermon or other religious formalities,
"straight into the narrow jail yard, which may be
"about the width of Cranbourn-alley. There, a
"gibbet is erected, which is of curious construc-
"tion; for the culprit stands on the earth with the
"rope about his neck, which passes through a
"pulley in the top of the 'Tree' (see *Newgate*
"*Calendar* passim), and is attached to a weight
"something heavier than the man. This weight
"being suddenly let go, drags the rope down with
"it, and sends the criminal flying up fourteen
"feet into the air; while the judge, and jury, and
"five and twenty citizens (whose presence is re-
"quired by the law), stand by, that they may
"afterwards certify to the fact. This yard is a
"very dismal place; and when I looked at it, I
"thought the practice infinitely superior to ours:
"much more solemn, and far less degrading and
"indecent.

"There is another prison near New York

PHILADEL-
PHIA:
1842.

G. D.
to
J. F.

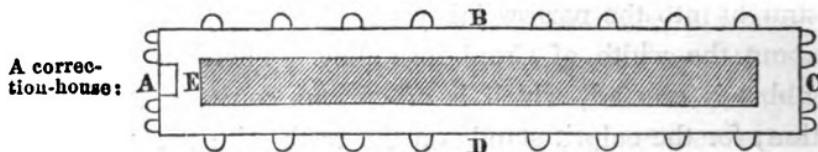
Capital
punishment
in New York:

better than
ours then
was.

PHILADEL-
PHIA:
1849.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"which is a house of correction. The convicts labour in stone-quarries near at hand, but the jail has no covered yards or shops, so that when the weather is wet (as it was when I was there) each man is shut up in his own little cell, all the live-long day. These cells, in all the correction-houses I have seen, are on one uniform plan—thus:



A corre-
ction-house:

with four
hundred
single cells.

"A, B, C, and D, are the walls of the building with windows in them, high up in the wall. The shaded place in the centre represents four tiers of cells, one above the other, with doors of grated iron, and a light grated gallery to each tier. Four tiers front to B, and four to D, so that by this means you may be said, in walking round, to see eight tiers in all. The intermediate blank space you walk in, looking up at these galleries; so that, coming in at the door E, and going either to the right or left till you come back to the door again, you see all the cells under one roof and in one high room. Imagine them in number 400, and in every one a man locked up; this one with his hands

PHILADEL-
PHIA:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"through the bars of his grate; this one in bed
"(in the middle of the day, remember), and this
"one flung down in a heap upon the ground with
"his head against the bars like a wild beast.
"Make the rain pour down in torrents outside.
"Put the everlasting stove in the midst; hot, suf-
"focating, and vaporous, as a witch's cauldron.
"Add a smell like that of a thousand old mil-
"dewed umbrellas wet through, and a thousand
"dirty clothes-bags musty, moist, and fusty, and
"you will have some idea—a very feeble one, my
"dear friend, on my word—of this place yester-
"day week. You know of course that we adopted
"our improvements in prison-discipline from the
"American pattern; but I am confident that the
"writers who have the most lustily lauded the
"American prisons, have never seen Chesterton's
"domain or Tracey's.* There is no more com-
"parison between these two prisons of ours, and Comparison
with English
prisons.
"any I have seen here yet, than there is between
"the keepers here, and those two gentlemen.
"Putting out of sight the difficulty we have in
"England of finding *useful* labour for the pri-
"soners (which of course arises from our being
"an older country, and having vast numbers of

* See *ante*, p. 98.

PHILADEL.
PHIA:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"artizans unemployed), our system is more complete, more impressive, and more satisfactory in every respect. It is very possible that I have not come to the best, not having yet seen Mount Auburn. I will tell you when I have. And also when I have come to those inns, mentioned—" vaguely rather—by Miss Martineau, where they undercharge literary people for the love the landlords bear them. My experience, so far, has been of establishments where (perhaps for the same reason) they very monstrously and violently overcharge a man whose position forbids remonstrance.

Inns and
landlords.

"WASHINGTON, Sunday, March the Thirteenth, 1842.

WASHING-
TON:
1842.

Hotel ex-
tortion.

"In allusion to the last sentence, my dear friend, I must tell you a slight experience I had in Philadelphia. My rooms had been ordered for a week, but, in consequence of Kate's illness, only Mr. Q and the luggage had gone on. Mr. Q always lives at the table d'hôte, so that while we were in New York our rooms were empty. The landlord not only charged me half the full rent for the time during which the rooms were reserved for us (which was quite right), but charged me also *for board for myself and Kate and Anne, at the rate of nine dollars*

WASHING-
TON:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

"per day for the same period, when we were actually living, at the same expense, in New York!!! I did remonstrate upon this head; but was coolly told it was the custom (which I have since been assured is a lie), and had nothing for "it but to pay the amount. What else could I do? I was going away by the steamboat at five o'clock in the morning; and the landlord knew perfectly well that my disputing an item of his bill would draw down upon me the sacred wrath of the newspapers, which would one and all demand in capitals if THIS was the gratitude of the man whom America had received as she had never received any other man but La Fayette?

"I went last Tuesday to the Eastern Penitentiary near Philadelphia, which is the only prison in the States, or I believe in the world, on the principle of hopeless, strict, and unrelaxed solitary confinement, during the whole term of the sentence. It is wonderfully kept, but a most dreadful, fearful place. The inspectors, immediately on my arrival in Philadelphia, invited me to pass the day in the jail, and to dine with them when I had finished my inspection, that they might hear my opinion of the system. Accordingly I passed the whole day in going from

Philadelphia
Penitentiary.

The solitary
system.

WASHING-
TON:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Solitary
prisoners.

How received
and kept.

"cell to cell, and conversing with the prisoners. "Every facility was given me, and no constraint "whatever imposed upon any man's free speech. "If I were to write you a letter of twenty sheets, "I could not tell you this one day's work; so I "will reserve it until that happy time when we "shall sit round the table at Jack Straw's—you, "and I, and Mac—and go over my diary. I never "shall be able to dismiss from my mind, the im- "pressions of that day. Making notes of them, "as I have done, is an absurdity, for they are "written, beyond all power of erasure, in my "brain. I saw men who had been there, five "years, six years, eleven years, two years, two "months, two days; some whose term was nearly "over, and some whose term had only just begun. "Women too, under the same variety of circum- "stances. Every prisoner who comes into the "jail, comes at night; is put into a bath, and "dressed in the prison garb; and then a black "hood is drawn over his face and head, and he "is led to the cell from which he never stirs "again until his whole period of confinement has "expired. I looked at some of them with the "same awe as I should have looked at men who "had been buried alive, and dug up again.

"We dined in the jail: and I told them after

"dinner how much the sight had affected me, "and what an awful punishment it was. I dwelt upon this; for, although the inspectors are extremely kind and benevolent men, I question whether they are sufficiently acquainted with the human mind to know what it is they are doing. Indeed, I am sure they do not know. I bore testimony, as every one who sees it must, to the admirable government of the institution (Stanfield is the keeper: grown a little younger, that's all); but added that nothing could justify such a punishment, but its working a reformation in the prisoners. That for short terms—say two years for the maximum—I conceived, especially after what they had told me of its good effects in certain cases, it might perhaps be highly beneficial; but that, carried to so great an extent, I thought it cruel and unjustifiable; and further, that their sentences for small offences were very rigorous, not to say savage. All this, they took like men who were really anxious to have one's free opinion and to do right. And we were very much pleased with each other, and parted in the friendliest way.

"They sent me back to Philadelphia in a carriage they had sent for me in the morning; and then I had to dress in a hurry, and follow Kate

WASHING-
TON:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.
Talk with the
inspectors.

WASHINGTON,
TOM:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.
Bookseller
Cary.

A levee.

Changes of
temperature.

Henry Clay.

"to Cary's the bookseller's where there was a party.
"He married a sister of Leslie's. There are three
"Miss Leslies here, very accomplished; and one
"of them has copied all her brother's principal
"pictures. These copies hang about the room.
"We got away from this as soon as we could;
"and next morning had to turn out at five. In
"the morning I had received and shaken hands
"with five hundred people, so you may suppose
"that I was pretty well tired. Indeed I am obliged
"to be very careful of myself; to avoid smoking
"and drinking; to get to bed soon; and to be
"particular in respect of what I eat. . . . You
"cannot think how bilious and trying the climate
"is. One day it is hot summer, without a breath
"of air; the next, twenty degrees below freezing,
"with a wind blowing that cuts your skin like
"steel. These changes have occurred here several
"times since last Wednesday night.

"I have altered my route, and don't mean to
"go to Charleston. The country, all the way
"from here, is nothing but a dismal swamp; there
"is a bad night of sea-coasting in the journey;
"the equinoctial gales are blowing hard; and Clay
"("a most charming fellow, by the bye), whom I
"have consulted, strongly dissuades me. The
"weather is intensely hot there; the spring fever

"is coming on; and there is very little to see,
"after all. We therefore go next Wednesday night
"to Richmond, which we shall reach on Thurs-
"day. There, we shall stop three days; my object
"being to see some tobacco plantations. Then
"we shall go by James river back to Baltimore,
"which we have already passed through, and
"where we shall stay two days. Then we shall ^{Proposed}journeyings.
"go West at once, straight through the most
"gigantic part of this continent: across the Al-
"leghany-mountains, and over a prairie.

"STILL AT WASHINGTON, Fifteeenth March,
"1842. . . . It is impossible, my dear friend, to
"tell you what we felt, when Mr. Q (who is a
"fearfully sentimental genius, but heartily in-
"terested in all that concerns us) came to where
"we were dining last Sunday, and sent in a note
"to the effect that the Caledonia* had arrived! ^{Arrival of}Acadia with
"Being really assured of her safety, we felt as if ^{Caledonia}mails.
"the distance between us and home were dimi-
"nished by at least one half. There was great
"joy everywhere here, for she had been quite
"despaired of, but *our* joy was beyond all telling.
"This news came on by express. Last night your
"letters reached us. I was dining with a club

* This was the Acadia with the Caledonia mails.

WASHING-
TON:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"(for I can't avoid a dinner of that sort, now and "then), and Kate sent me a note about nine "o'clock to say they were here. But she didn't "open them—which I consider heroic—until I "came home. That was about half past ten; and "we read them until nearly two in the morning.

Letters from
England.

"I won't say a word about your letters; ex- "cept that Kate and I have come to a conclusion "which makes me tremble in my shoes, for we "decide that humorous narrative is your forte; "and not statesmen of the commonwealth. I "won't say a word about your news; for how "could I in that case, while you want to hear "what we are doing, resist the temptation of ex- "pending pages on those darling children.....

Congress
and Senate.

"I have the privilege of appearing on the floor "of both houses here, and go to them every day. "They are very handsome and commodious. There "is a great deal of bad speaking, but there are a "great many very remarkable men, in the legis- "lature: such as John Quincey Adams, Clay, "Preston, Calhoun, and others: with whom I need "scarcely add I have been placed in the friend- "liest relations. Adams is a fine old fellow— "seventy-six years old, but with most surprising "vigour, memory, readiness, and pluck. Clay is "perfectly enchanting; an irresistible man. There

Quincey
Adams.

“are some very noble specimens, too, out of the WASHING-
“West. Splendid men to look at, hard to deceive, TON:
“prompt to act, lions in energy, Crichtons in 1842.
“varied accomplishments, Indians in quickness of C. D.
“eye and gesture, Americans in affectionate and to
“generous impulse. It would be difficult to ex- J. F.
“aggerate the nobility of some of these glorious Leading
“fellowes. American statesmen.

“When Clay retires, as he does this month, Preston.
“Preston will become the leader of the whig party.
“He so solemnly assures me that the international
“copyright shall and will be passed, that I almost
“begin to hope; and I shall be entitled to say, if
“it be, that I have brought it about. You have
“no idea how universal the discussion of its International
“merits and demerits has become; or how eager
“for the change I have made a portion of the
“people.

“You remember what —— was, in England.
“If you *could* but see him here! If you could
“only have seen him when he called on us the
“other day—feigning abstraction in the dreadful
“pressure of affairs of state; rubbing his forehead
“as one who was a-weary of the world; and ex-
“hibiting a sublime caricature of Lord Burleigh.
“He is the only thoroughly unreal man I have
“seen, on this side the ocean. Heaven help the

WASHING-
TON:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.
President
Tyler.

Concerning
the American
people.

Englishmen
“located”
in America.

“President! All parties are against him, and he appears truly wretched. We go to a levee at his house to-night. He has invited me to dinner on Friday, but I am obliged to decline; for we leave, per steamboat, to-morrow night.

“I said I wouldn’t write anything more concerning the American people, for two months. Second thoughts are best. I shall not change, and may as well speak out—to *you*. They are friendly, earnest, hospitable, kind, frank, very often accomplished, far less prejudiced than you would suppose, warm-hearted, fervent, and enthusiastic. They are chivalrous in their universal politeness to women, courteous, obliging, disinterested; and, when they conceive a perfect affection for a man (as I may venture to say of myself), entirely devoted to him. I have received thousands of people of all ranks and grades, and have never once been asked an offensive or unpolite question—except by Englishmen, who, when they have been ‘located’ here for some years, are worse than the devil in his blackest painting. The State is a parent to its people; has a parental care and watch over all poor children, women labouring of child, sick persons, and captives. The common men render you assistance in the streets, and would revolt from

WASHING-
TON:
1842.

O. D.
to
J. F.

"the offer of a piece of money. The desire to
"oblige is universal; and I have never once tra-
"velled in a public conveyance, without making
"some generous acquaintance whom I have been
"sorry to part from, and who has in many cases
"come on miles, to see us again. But I don't "Surgit
"like the country. I would not live here, on any ^{amari} aliquid."
"consideration. It goes against the grain with
"me. It would with you. I think it impossible,
"utterly impossible, for any Englishman to live
"here, and be happy. I have a confidence that I
"must be right, because I have everything, God
"knows, to lead me to the opposite conclusion:
"and yet I cannot resist coming to this one. As
"to the causes, they are too many to enter upon
"here.

"One of two petitions for an international <sup>The copy-
right petition.</sup> copyright which I brought here from American
"authors, with Irving at their head, has been pre-
"sented to the house of representatives. Clay
"retains the other for presentation to the senate
"after I have left Washington. The presented
"one has been referred to a committee; the
"Speaker has nominated as its chairman Mr.
"Kennedy, member for Baltimore, who is himself
"an author and notoriously favourable to such a
"law; and I am going to assist him in his report.

WASHINGTON-
TON:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.
RICHMOND.
Washington
Irving:

appointed
Minister to
Spain.

"RICHMOND, IN VIRGINIA. Thursday Night, March 17.

"Irving was with me at Washington yesterday, and wept heartily at parting. He is a fine fellow, "when you know him well; and you would relish "him, my dear friend, of all things. We have "laughed together at some absurdities we have "encountered in company, quite in my vociferous "Devonshire-terrace style. The 'Merrikin' govern- "ment have treated him, he says, most liberally "and handsomely in every respect. He thinks of "sailing for Liverpool on the 7th of April; passing "a short time in London; and then going to "Paris. Perhaps you may meet him. If you do, "he will know that you are my dearest friend, "and will open his whole heart to you at once. "His secretary of legation, Mr. Coggleswell, is a "man of very remarkable information, a great "traveller, a good talker, and a scholar."

"I am going to sketch you our trip here from "Washington, as it involves nine miles of a 'Vir- "ginny Road.' That done, I must be brief, good "brother. . . .

The reader of the *American Notes* will remem- ber the admirable and most humorous description of the night steamer on the Potomac, and of the black driver over the Virginia-road. Both were

in this letter; which, after three days, he resumed
"At Washington again, Monday, March the twenty-
"first.

WASHING-
TON:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

"We had intended to go to Baltimore from "Richmond, by a place called Norfolk: but one "of the boats being under repair, I found we "should probably be detained at this Norfolk two "days. Therefore we came back here yesterday, "by the road we had travelled before; lay here "last night; and go on to Baltimore this after- "noon, at four o'clock. It is a journey of only "two hours and a half. Richmond is a prettily Richmond. "situated town; but, like other towns in slave "districts (as the planters themselves admit), has "an aspect of decay and gloom which to an un- "accustomed eye is *most* distressing. In the black "car (for they don't let them sit with the whites), "on the railroad as we went there, were a mother "and family, whom the steamer was conveying "away, to sell; retaining the man (the husband "and father I mean) on his plantation. The chil- "dren cried the whole way. Yesterday, on board "the boat, a slave owner and two constables were "our fellow-passengers. They were coming here Incidents of
slave-life.
"in search of two negroes who had run away on "the previous day. On the bridge at Richmond "there is a notice against fast driving over it, as

WASHING-
TON:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Impossible
to be silent
on slavery.

Discussion
with a slave-
holder.

"it is rotten and crazy: penalty—for whites, five dollars; for slaves, fifteen stripes. My heart is lightened as if a great load had been taken from it, when I think that we are turning our backs on this accursed and detested system. I really don't think I could have borne it any longer. It is all very well to say 'be silent on 'the subject.' They won't let you be silent. They will ask you what you think of it; and will expatiate on slavery as if it were one of the greatest blessings of mankind. 'It's not,' said 'a hard, bad-looking fellow to me the other day, 'it's not the interest of a man to use his slaves ill. It's damned nonsense that you hear in England.'—I told him quietly that it was not a man's interest to get drunk, or to steal, or to game, or to indulge in any other vice, but he did indulge in it for all that. That cruelty, and the abuse of irresponsible power, were two of the bad passions of human nature, with the gratification of which, considerations of interest or of ruin had nothing whatever to do; and that, while every candid man must admit that even a slave might be happy enough with a good master, all human beings knew that bad masters, cruel masters, and masters who disgraced the form they bore, were matters of ex-

"perience and history, whose existence was as
"undisputed as that of slaves themselves. He
"was a little taken aback by this, and asked me
"if I believed in the bible. Yes, I said, but if
"any man could prove to me that it sanctioned
"slavery, I would place no further credence in it.
"Well then,' he said, 'by God, sir, the niggers
"must be kept down, and the whites have put
"down the coloured people wherever they have
"found them.' 'That's the whole question,' said
"I. 'Yes, and by God,' says he, 'the British had
"better not stand out on that point when Lord
"Ashburton comes over, for I never felt so war-
"like as I do now,—and that's a fact.' I was
"obliged to accept a public supper in this Rich-
mond, and I saw plainly enough, there, that the
"hatred which these Southern States bear to us
"as a nation has been fanned up and revived
"again by this Creole business, and can scarcely
"be exaggerated.

WASHING-
TON:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

Feeling of
South to
England.

.... "We were desperately tired at Rich-
mond, as we went to a great many places, and
received a very great number of visitors. We
"appoint usually two hours in every day for this Levees at
"latter purpose, and have our room so full at that Richmond.
"period that it is difficult to move or breathe.
"Before we left Richmond, a gentleman told me,

WASHINGTON: "when I really was so exhausted that I could hardly stand, that 'three people of great fashion' were much offended by having been told, when they called last evening, that I was tired and not visible, then, but would be 'at home' from twelve to two next day! Another gentleman (no doubt of great fashion also) sent a letter to me two hours after I had gone to bed, preparatory to rising at four next morning, with instructions to 'the slave who brought it to knock me up and 'wait for an answer!

**One more
banquet
accepted.**

"I am going to break my resolution of accepting no more public entertainments, in favour of the originators of the printed document overleaf. They live upon the confines of the Indian territory, some two thousand miles or more west of New York! Think of my dining there! "And yet, please God, the festival will come off —I should say about the 12th or 15th of next month." . . .

The printed document was a series of resolutions, moved at a public meeting attended by all the principal citizens, judges, professors, and doctors, of St. Louis, urgently inviting, to that city of the Far West, the distinguished writer then the guest of America, eulogizing his genius,

and tendering to him their warmest hospitalities. BALTIMORE:
1842.
He was at Baltimore when he closed his letter.

BALTIMORE, Tuesday, March 22nd.

"I have a great diffidence in running counter
"to any impression formed by a man of Maclise's
"genius, on a subject he has fully considered."
(Referring apparently to some remark by myself
on the picture of the Play-scene in *Hamlet*, ex-
hibited this year.) "But I quite agree with you,
"about the King in *Hamlet*. Talking of Hamlet,
"I constantly carry in my great-coat pocket the
"*Shakespeare* you bought for me in Liverpool. My gift of
Shakespeare.
"What an unspeakable source of delight that
"book is to me!

C. D.
to
J. F.

"Your Ontario letter, I found here to-night:
"sent on by the vigilant and faithful Colden, who
"makes every thing having reference to us, or
"our affairs, a labour of the heartiest love. We
"devoured its contents, greedily. Good Heaven,
"my dear fellow, how I miss you! and how I count
"the time 'twixt this and coming home again.
"Shall I ever forget the day of our parting at Letters from
home.
"Liverpool! when even —— became jolly and
"radiant in his sympathy with our separation!
"Never, never shall I forget that time. Ah! how
"seriously I thought then, and how seriously I

BALTIMORE: "have thought many, many times since, of the
 1842.

C. D. to J. F. "terrible folly of ever quarrelling with a true
 friend, on good for nothing trifles! Every little
 "hasty word that has ever passed between us,

Self-reproach of a noble nature. "rose up before me like a reproachful ghost.

"At this great distance, I seem to look back upon
 "any miserable small interruption of our affec-
 "tionate intercourse, though only for the instant
 "it has never outlived, with a sort of pity for my-
 "self as if I were another creature.

"I have bought another accordion. The steward
 "lent me one, on the passage out, and I regaled
 "the ladies' cabin with my performances. You
 "can't think with what feeling I play *Home Sweet*
 "*Home* every night, or how pleasantly sad it makes
 "us. . . . And so God bless you. . . . I leave
 "space for a short postscript before sealing this,
 "but it will probably contain nothing. The dear,
 "dear children! what a happiness it is to know
 "that they are in such hands.

"P.S. Twenty-third March, 1842. Nothing
 "new. And all well. I have not heard that the
 "Columbia is in, but she is hourly expected.
 "Washington Irving has come on for another
 "leave-taking,* and dines with me to-day. We

* At his second visit to America, when in Washington

"start for the West, at half after eight to-morrow BALTIMORE:
1842.
"morning. I send you a newspaper, the most C. D.
"respectable in the States, with a very just copy- to
J. F.
"right article."

in February 1868, Dickens, replying to a letter in which Irving was named, thus describes the last meeting and leave-taking to which he alludes above. "Your reference to my "dear friend, Washington Irving, renews the vivid impres- Washington
Irving's
"sions reawakened in my mind at Baltimore but the other leave-taking.
"day. I saw his fine face for the last time in that city. He
"came there from New York to pass a day or two with me
"before I went westward; and they were made among the
"most memorable of my life by his delightful fancy and
"genial humor. Some unknown admirer of his books and
"mine sent to the hotel a most enormous mint-julep, wreathed
"with flowers. We sat, one on either side of it, with great
"solemnity (it filled a respectably-sized round table), but the
"solemnity was of very short duration. It was quite an en-
"chanted julep, and carried us among innumerable people
"and places that we both knew. The julep held out far
"into the night, and my memory never saw him afterwards
"otherwise than as bending over it, with his straw, with an
"attempted air of gravity (after some anecdote involving
"some wonderfully droll and delicate observation of character),
"and then, as his eye caught mine, melting into that capti-
"vating laugh of his, which was the brightest and best I
"have ever heard."

CHAPTER XXII.

CANAL BOAT JOURNEYS: BOUND FAR WEST.

1842.

AMERICA:
1842.

Character in
the letters.

IT would not be possible that a more vivid or exact impression, than that which is derivable from these letters, could be given of either the genius or the character of the writer. The whole man is here in the supreme hour of his life, and in all the enjoyment of its highest sensations. Inexpressibly sad to me has been the task of going over them, but the surprise has equalled the sadness. I had forgotten what was in them. That they contained, in their first vividness, all the most prominent descriptions of his published book, I knew. But the reproduction of any part of these was not permissible here; and believing that the substance of them had been thus almost wholly embodied in the *American Notes*, when they were lent to assist in its composition, I turned to them with very small expectation of finding anything available for present use. Yet the difficulty has

been, not to find but to reject; and the rejection AMERICA:
1842. when most unavoidable has not been most easy.

Even where the subjects recur that are in the The Notes less
satisfactory. printed volume, there is a freshness of first im-

pressions in the letters that renders it no small trial to act strictly on the rule adhered to in these extracts from them. In the *Notes* there is of course very much, masterly in observation and description, of which there is elsewhere no trace; but the passages amplified from the letters have not been improved, and the manly force and directness of some of their views and reflections, conveyed by touches of a picturesque completeness that no elaboration could give, have here and there not been strengthened by rhetorical additions in the printed work. There is also a charm in the letters which the plan adopted in the book necessarily excluded from it. It will always of course have value as a deliberate expression of the results gathered from the American experiences, but the *personal narrative* of this famous visit to America is in the letters alone. In what way his experiences arose, the desire at the outset to see nothing that was not favourable, the slowness with which adverse impressions were formed, and the eager recognition of every truth-Personal nar-
rative in
them. ful and noble quality that arose and remained

A charm in
letters ex-
cluded from
Notes.

AMERICA: above the fault-finding, are discoverable only in
1842: the letters.

The copy-
right diffe-
rences.

Social dis-
satisfactions.

Fairness of
judgment.

Already it is manifest from them that the before-named disappointments, as well of the guest in his entertainers as of the entertainers in their guest, had their beginning in the copyright differences; but it is not less plain that the social dissatisfactions on his side were of even earlier date, and with the country itself had certainly nothing to do. It was objected to him, I well remember, that in making such unfavourable remarks as his published book did on many points, he was assailing the democratic institutions that had formed the character of the nation: but the answer is obvious, that, democratic institutions being universal in America, they were as fairly entitled to share in the good as in the bad; and in what he praised, of which there is here abundant testimony, he must be held to have exalted those institutions as much, as in what he blamed he could be held to deprecate them. He never sets himself up in judgment on the entire people. As we see, from the way the letters show us that the opinions he afterwards published were formed, he does not draw conclusions while his observation is only half-concluded; and he refrains throughout from the example too strongly set him,

even in the very terms of his welcome by the writers of America,* of flinging one nation in the other's face. He leaves each upon its own ground. His great business in his publication, as in the first impressions recorded here, is to exhibit social influences at work as he saw them himself; and it would surely have been of all bad compliments ^{The real compliment} the worst, when resolving, in the tone and with ^{to America.} the purpose of a friend, to make public what he had observed in America, if he had supposed that such a country would take truth amiss.

There is however one thing to be especially remembered, as well in reading the letters as in judging of the book which was founded on them. It is a point to which I believe Mr. Emerson directed the attention of his countrymen. Everything of an objectionable kind, whether the author ^{A fact to be remembered.} would have it so or not, stands out more prominently and distinctly than matter of the opposite description. The social sin is a more tangible thing than the social virtue. Pertinaciously to insist upon the charities and graces of life, is to outrage their quiet and unobtrusive character; but we incur the danger of extending the vulgarities and indecencies, if we seem to countenance by omitting to expose them. And if this is only

* See *ant*, p. 134-5.

AMERICA: kept in view in reading what is here given, the proportion of censure will be found not to overbalance the just admiration and unexaggerated praise.

Literary
merits of the
letters.

Apart from such considerations, it is to be also said, the letters, from which I am now printing exactly as they were written, have claims, as mere literature, of an unusual kind. Unrivalled quickness of observation, the rare faculty of seizing out of a multitude of things the thing only that is essential, the irresistible play of humour, such pathos as only humourists of this high order possess, and the unwearied unforced vivacity of ever fresh, buoyant, bounding animal spirits, never found more natural, variously easy, or picturesque expression. Written amid such distraction, fatigue, and weariness as they describe, amid the jarring noises of hotels and streets, aboard steamers, on canal boats, and in log huts, there is not an erasure in them. Not external objects only, but feelings, reflections, and thoughts, are photographed into visible forms with the same unexampled ease. They borrow no help from the matters of which they treat. They would have given, to the subjects described, old acquaintance and engrossing interest if they had been about a people in the moon. Of the personal character

at the same time self-pourtrayed, others, whose ^{AMERICA:}
 emotions it less vividly awakens, will judge more ^{1842.}
 calmly and clearly than myself. Yet to myself ^{Personal}
~~pourtrayed.~~ ^{character}
 only can it be known how small were the services
 of friendship that sufficed to rouse all the sensibili-
 ties of this beautiful and noble nature. Through-
 out our life-long intercourse it was the same. His
 keenness of discrimination failed him never ex-
 cepting here, when it was lost in the limitless ex-
 tent of his appreciation of all kindly things; and
 never did he receive what was meant for a bene-
 fit that he was not eager to return it a hundred-
 fold. No man more truly generous ever lived.

His next letter was begun from "on board
 "the canal boat. Going to Pittsburgh. Monday,
 "March twenty-eighth, 1842;" and the difficulties
 of rejection, to which reference has just been
 made, have been nowhere felt by me so much.
 Several of the descriptive master-pieces of the
 book are in it, with such touches of original
 freshness as might fairly have justified a repro-
 duction of them in their first form. Among these
 are the Harrisburgh coach on its way through
 the Susquehanah valley; the railroad across the
 mountain; the brown-forester of the Mississippi,
 the interrogative man in pepper-and-salt, and the
 affecting scene of the emigrants put ashore as the

On board for
 Pittsburgh.

Choicest pas-
 sages of Notes.

CANAL BOAT
FOR PITTS-
BURGH:
1842.

steamer passes up the Ohio. But all that I may here give, bearing any resemblance to what is given in the *Notes*, are, the opening sketch of the small creature on the top of the queer stage coach, to which the printed version fails to do adequate justice; and an experience to which the interest belongs of having suggested the settlement of Eden in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. . . . “We

C. D.
to
J. F.

“left Baltimore last Thursday the twenty-fourth “at half-past eight in the morning, by railroad; “and got to a place called York, about twelve. “There we dined, and took a stage-coach for “Harrisburgh; twenty-five miles further. This “stage-coach was like nothing so much as the “body of one of the swings you see at a fair set “upon four wheels and roofed and covered at “the sides with painted canvas. There were “twelve *inside!* I, thank my stars, was on “the box. The luggage was on the roof; among

Queer stage-
coach.

“it, a good-sized dining table, and a big rocking-chair. We also took up an intoxicated gentleman, who sat for ten miles between me and the coachman; and another intoxicated gentleman “who got up behind, but in the course of a mile “or two fell off without hurting himself, and was “seen in the distant perspective reeling back to “the grog-shop where we had found him. There

"were four horses to this land-ark, of course; but we did not perform the journey until after half-past six o'clock that night. . . . The first half of the journey was tame enough, but the second lay through the valley of the Susquehanah (I think I spell it right, but I haven't that American Geography at hand) which is very beautiful. . . .

CANAL BOAT
FOR PITTS-
BURGH:
1842.

"I think I formerly made a casual remark to you touching the precocity of the youth of this country. When we changed horses on this journey I got down to stretch my legs, refresh myself with a glass of whiskey and water, and shake the wet off my great coat—for it was raining very heavily, and continued to do so, all night. Mounting to my seat again, I observed something lying on the roof of the coach, Something on the roof: which I took to be a rather large fiddle in a brown bag. In the course of ten miles or so, however, I discovered that it had a pair of dirty shoes at one end, and a glazed cap at the other; and further observation demonstrated it to be a small boy, in a snuff-coloured coat, with his arms quite pinioned to his sides by deep forcing into his pockets. He was, I presume, a relative or friend of the coachman's, as he lay a-top of the luggage, with his face towards the

**CANAL BOAT
FOR PITTS-
BURGH:
1842.**

C. D.
to
J. F.

"rain; and, except when a change of position
"brought his shoes in contact with my hat, he
"appeared to be asleep. Sir, when we stopped
"to water the horses, about two miles from Har-
"risburgh, this thing slowly upreared itself to the
reveals itself. "height of three foot eight, and fixing its eyes on
"me with a mingled expression of complacency,
"patronage, national independence, and sympathy
"for all outer barbarians and foreigners, said, in
"shrill piping accents, 'Well now, stranger, I
"guess you find this, a'most like an English
"a'ternoon,—hey?' It is unnecessary to add that
"I thirsted for his blood. . . .

At Harris-
burgh.

"We had all next morning in Harrisburgh, as
"the canal-boat was not to start until three o'clock
"in the afternoon. The officials called upon me
"before I had finished breakfast; and as the town
"is the seat of the Pennsylvanian legislature, I
"went up to the capitol. I was very much inter-

Treaties with Indians.

"ested in looking over a number of treaties made
"with the poor Indians, their signatures being
"rough drawings of the creatures or weapons they
"are called after; and the extraordinary drawing
"of these emblems, showing the queer, unused,
"shaky manner in which each man has held the
"pen, struck me very much.

"You know my small respect for our house

"of commons. These local legislatures are too ~~CANAL BOAT
FOR PITTS-~~
 "insufferably apish of mighty legislation, to be ~~BURGH:~~
 "seen without bile, for which reason, and because ~~1842.~~
 "a great crowd of senators and ladies had as-
 "sembled in both houses to behold the inimit- <sup>Local legis-
latures.</sup>
 "able, and had already begun to pour in upon
 "him even in the secretary's private room, I went
 "back to the hotel, with all speed. The members
 "of both branches of the legislature followed me
 "there, however, so we had to hold the usual
 "levee before our half-past one o'clock dinner. ^{A levee.}
 "We received a great number of them. Pretty
 "nearly every man spat upon the carpet, as usual;
 "and one blew his nose with his fingers—also on
 "the carpet, which was a very neat one, the room
 "given up to us being the private parlor of the
 "landlord's wife. This has become so common
 "since, however, that it scarcely seems worth
 "mentioning. Please to observe that the gentle-
 "man in question was a member of the senate,
 "which answers (as they very often tell me) to
 "our house of lords.

"The innkeeper was the most attentive, civil, ^{A model-} ~~innkeeper.~~
 "and obliging person I ever saw in my life. On
 "being asked for his bill, he said there was no
 "bill: the honor and pleasure &c. being more

CANAL BOAT "than sufficient.* I did not permit this, of course;
FOR PITTS- "and begged Mr. Q to explain to him, that,
BURGH: "travelling four strong, I could not hear of it on
1842. "any account.

The canal boat. "And now I come to the Canal Boat. Bless "your heart and soul, my dear fellow,—if you "could only see us on board the canal boat! Let "me think, for a moment, at what time of the "day or night I should best like you to see us.

In the morning. "In the morning? Between five and six in the "morning, shall I say? Well! you *would* like to "see me, standing on the deck, fishing the dirty "water out of the canal with a tin ladle chained "to the boat by a long chain; pouring the same "into a tin-basin (also chained up in like man- "ner); and scrubbing my face with the jack "towel. At night, shall I say? I don't know that "you *would* like to look into the cabin at night, "only to see me lying on a temporary shelf "exactly the width of this sheet of paper when "it's open (*I measured it this morning*),** with one "man above me, and another below; and, in all, "eight and twenty in a low cabin, which you

* Miss Martineau was perhaps partly right then? *Ante,*
p. 188.

** 16 inches exactly.

"can't stand upright in with your hat on. I don't
 "think you would like to look in at breakfast
 "time either, for then these shelves have only
 "just been taken down and put away, and the
 "atmosphere of the place is, as you may sup-
 "pose, by no means fresh; though there *are* upon
 "the table tea and coffee, and bread and butter,^{At breakfast.}
 "and salmon, and shad, and liver, and steak, and
 "potatoes, and pickles, and ham, and pudding,
 "and sausages; and three and thirty people sitting
 "round it, eating and drinking; and savoury
 "bottles of gin, and whiskey, and brandy, and
 "rum, in the bar hard by; and seven and twenty
 "out of the eight and twenty men, in foul linen,
 "with yellow streams from half-chewed tobacco
 "trickling down their chins. Perhaps the best<sup>After break-
fast.</sup>
 "time for you to take a peep would be the pre-
 "sent: eleven o'clock in the forenoon: when the
 "barber is at his shaving, and the gentlemen are
 "lounging about the stove waiting for their turns,
 "and not more than seventeen are spitting in con-
 "cert, and two or three are walking overhead
 "(lying down on the luggage every time the man
 "at the helm calls 'Bridge!'), and I am writing
 "this in the ladies'-cabin, which is a part of the
 "gentlemen's, and only screened off by a red
 "curtain. Indeed it exactly resembles the dwarf's

CANAL BOAT
 FOR PITTS-
 BURGH:
 1842.
 C. D.
 to
 J. F.

The ladies'
 cabin.

CANAL BOAT
FOR PITTS-
BURGH:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"private apartment in a caravan at a fair; and
"the gentlemen, generally, represent the spectators
"at a penny-a-head. The place is just as clean
"and just as large as that caravan you and I
"were in at Greenwich-fair last past. Outside, it
"is exactly like any canal-boat you have seen
"near the Regent's-park, or elsewhere.

Disagreeable. "You never can conceive what the hawking
"and spitting is, the whole night through. Last
"night was the worst. *Upon my honor and word*
"I was obliged, this morning, to lay my fur-coat
"on the deck, and wipe the half dried flakes of
"spittle from it with my handkerchief: and the
"only surprise seemed to be, that I should con-
"sider it necessary to do so. When I turned in
"last night, I put it on a stool beside me, and
"there it lay, under a cross fire from five men—
"three opposite; one above; and one below. I
"make no complaints, and shew no disgust. I
"am looked upon as highly facetious at night,
"for I crack jokes with everybody near me until
"we fall asleep. I am considered very hardy in
"the morning, for I run up, bare-necked, and
"plunge my head into the half-frozen water, by
Making the best of it.
Hardy habits. "half past five o'clock. I am respected for my
"activity, inasmuch as I jump from the boat to
"the towing-path, and walk five or six miles be-

"fore breakfast; keeping up with the horses all
 "the time. In a word, they are quite astonished
 "to find a sedentary Englishman roughing it so
 "well, and taking so much exercise; and ques-
 "tion me very much on that head. The greater
 "part of the men will sit and shiver round the
 "stove all day, rather than put one foot before
 "the other. As to having a window open, that's
 "not to be thought of.

"We expect to reach Pittsburgh to-night, be-
 "tween eight and nine o'clock; and there we
 "ardently hope to find your March letters awaiting
 "us. We have had, with the exception of Friday
 "afternoon, exquisite weather, but cold. Clear
 "starlight and moonlight nights. The canal has
 "run, for the most part, by the side of the Susque-
 "hanah and Iwanata rivers; and has been carried
 "through tremendous obstacles. Yesterday, we
 "crossed the mountain. This is done *by railroad*.

"... You dine at an inn upon the mountain;
 "and, including the half hour allowed for the
 "meal, are rather more than five hours performing
 "this strange part of the journey. The people
 "north and 'down east' have terrible legends of
 "its danger; but they appear to be exceedingly
 "careful, and don't go to work at all wildly.
 "There are some queer precipices close to the

CANAL BOAT
 FOR PITTS-
 BURGH:
 1842.
 C. D.
 to
 J. F.

By rail across
 a mountain.

CANAL BOAT FOR PITTSBURGH: "rails, certainly; but every precaution is taken, I am inclined to think, that such difficulties, and

1842.

**C. D.
to
J. F.**

**Mountain
scenery.**

"such a vast work, will admit of.

"The scenery, before you reach the mountains, "and when you are on them, and after you have "left them, is very grand and fine; and the canal "winds its way through some deep, sullen gorges, "which, seen by moonlight, are very impressive: "though immeasurably inferior to Glencoe, to "whose terrors I have not seen the smallest *approach*. We have passed, both in the mountains

New settlers. "and elsewhere, a great number of new settlements, and detached log-houses. Their utterly "forlorn and miserable appearance baffles all description. I have not seen six cabins out of six "hundred, where the windows have been whole. Old "hats, old clothes, old boards, old fragments of "blanket and paper, are stuffed into the broken "glass; and their air is misery and desolation. It

**Original of
Clunselvitt
settlement.** "pains the eye to see the stumps of great trees thickly "strewn in every field of wheat; and never to lose "the eternal swamp and dull morass, with hundreds of rotten trunks, of elm and pine and "sycamore and logwood, steeped in its unwholesome water; where the frogs so croak at night "that after dark there is an incessant sound as if "millions of phantom teams, with bells, were

"travelling through the upper air, at an enormous
 "distance off. It is quite an oppressive circum-
 "stance, too, to *come* upon great tracks, where
 "settlers have been burning down the trees; and
 "where their wounded bodies lie about, like those
 "of murdered creatures; while here and there
 "some charred and blackened giant rears two bare
 "arms aloft, and seems to curse his enemies. The
 "prettiest sight I have seen was yesterday, when
 "we—on the heights of the mountain, and in a
 "keen wind—looked down into a valley full of
 "light and softness: catching glimpses of scattered
 "cabins; children running to the doors; dogs
 "bursting out to bark; pigs scampering home, like
 "so many prodigal sons; families sitting out in
 "their gardens; cows gazing upward, with a stupid
 "indifference; men in their shirt-sleeves, looking
 "on at their unfinished houses, and planning work
 "for to-morrow;—and the train riding on, high
 "above them, like a storm. But I know this is
 "beautiful—very—very beautiful!"

" . . I wonder whether you and Mac mean to
 "go to Greenwich-fair! Perhaps you dine at the
 "Crown-and-sceptre to-day, for it's Easter-Monday
 "—who knows! I wish you drank punch, dear
 "Forster. It's a shabby thing, not to be able to
 "picture you with that cool green glass . . .

"I told you of the many uses of the word *useful word*.

CANAL BOAT
FOR PITTS-
BURGH:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

View from
heights of a
mountain.

CANAL BOAT "fix." I ask Mr. Q on board a steamboat if
 FOR PITTS-
 BURGH: "breakfast be nearly ready, and he tells me yes
 1842.

C. D.
 to
 J. F.

Fixings.

Party in America.

"he should think so, for when he was last below
 "the steward was 'fixing the tables'—in other
 "words, laying the cloth. When we have been
 "writing, and I beg him (do you remember anything
 "of my love of order, at this distance of time?)
 "to collect our papers, he answers that he'll 'fix
 "'em presently.' So when a man's dressing he's
 "'fixing' himself, and when you put yourself under
 "a doctor he 'fixes' you in no time. T'other
 "night, before we came on board here, when I
 "had ordered a bottle of mulled claret, and waited
 "some time for it. it was put on table with an
 "apology from the landlord (a lieutenant-colonel)
 "that 'he feared it wasn't fixed properly.' And
 "here, on Saturday morning, a Western man, hand-
 "ing the potatoes to Mr. Q at breakfast, enquired
 "if he wouldn't take some of 'these fixings' with
 "his meat. I remained as grave as a judge. I
 "catch them looking at me sometimes, and feel
 "that they think I don't take any notice. Politics
 "are very high here; dreadfully strong; handbills,
 "denunciations, invectives, threats, and quarrels.
 "The question is, who shall be the next President.
 "The election comes off in *three years and a half*
 "from this time."

He resumed his letter, "on board the steam

"boat from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, April the first, 1842. A very tremulous steam boat, which makes my hand shake. This morning, my dear friend, this very morning, which, passing by without bringing news from England, would have seen us on our way to St. Louis (via Cincinnati and Louisville) with sad hearts and dejected countenances, and the prospect of remaining for at least three weeks longer without any intelligence of those so inexpressibly dear to us—this very morning, bright and lucky morning that it was, a great packet was brought to our bed-room door, from HOME. How I have read and re-read your affectionate, hearty, interesting, funny, serious, delightful, and thoroughly Forsterian Columbia letter, I will not attempt to tell you; or how glad I am that you liked my first; or how afraid I am that my second was not written in such good spirits as it should have been; or how glad I am again to think that my third was; or how I hope you will find some amusement from my fourth: this present missive. All this, and more affectionate and earnest words than the post office would convey at any price, though they have no sharp edges to hurt the stamping-clerk—you will understand, I know, without expression, or attempt at expression. So

STEAM BOAT
TO CINCINNATI:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

News from home.

**STEAM BOAT
TO CINCINNATI.
MARCH:
1842.**

C. D.
to
J. F.

"having got over the first agitation of so much pleasure; and having walked the deck; and being now in the cabin, where one party are playing at chess, and another party are asleep, and another are talking round the stove, and all are spitting; and a persevering bore of a horrible New Englander with a droning voice like a gigantic bee *will* sit down beside me, though I am writing, and talk incessantly, in my very ear, to Kate;—here goes again.

At Pittsburgh.

Meets an
early ac-
quaintance.

"Smallness
of the world."

"Let me see. I should tell you, first, that we got to Pittsburgh between eight and nine o'clock of the evening of the day on which I left off at the top of this sheet; and were there received by a little man (a very little man) whom I knew years ago in London. He rejoiceth in the name of D G; and, when I knew him, was in partnership with his father on the stock-exchange, and lived handsomely at Dalston. They failed in business soon afterwards, and then this little man began to turn to account what had previously been his amusement and accomplishment, by painting little subjects for the fancy shops. So I lost sight of him, nearly ten years ago; and here he turned up t'other day, as a portrait painter in Pittsburgh! He had previously written me a letter which moved me a

"good deal, by a kind of quiet independence
 "and contentment it breathed, and still a painful
 "sense of being alone, so very far from home. I —————
 "received it in Philadelphia, and answered it.
 "He dined with us every day of our stay in Pitts-
 "burgh (they were only three), and was truly
 "gratified and delighted to find me unchanged—
 "more so than I can tell you. I am very glad
 "to-night to think how much happiness we have
 "fortunately been able to give him.

STEAM BOAT
 TO CINCINNATI:
 1842.
 C. D.
 to
 J. F.

"Pittsburgh is like Birmingham—at least its ^{Of Pittsburgh.}
 "townsfolks say so; and I didn't contradict them.
 "It is, in one respect. There is a great deal of
 "smoke in it. I quite offended a man at our
 "yesterday's levee, who supposed I was 'now
 "'quite at home,' by telling him that the notion
 "of London being so dark a place was a popular
 "mistake. We had very queer customers at our ^{Queer cus-}
 "receptions, I do assure you. Not least among ^{tomers at} _{the levees.}
 "them, a gentleman with his inexpressibles im-
 "perfectly buttoned and his waistband resting on
 "his thighs, who stood behind the half-opened
 "door, and could by no temptation or induce-
 "ment be prevailed upon to come out. There
 "was also another gentleman, with one eye and one
 "fixed gooseberry, who stood in a corner, motion-
 "less like an eight-day clock, and glared upon

STEAM BOAT
TO CINCINNATI:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"me, as I courteously received the Pittsburgians.
"There were also two red-headed brothers—boys
"—young dragons rather--who hovered about
"Kate, and wouldn't go. A great crowd they
"were, for three days; and a very queer one."

"STILL IN THE SAME BOAT. April the Second, 1842.

Our anni-
versary.

"Many, many, happy returns of the day. It's
"only eight o'clock in the morning now, but we
"mean to drink your health after dinner, in a
"bumper; and scores of Richmond dinners to us!
"We have some wine (a present sent on board
"by our Pittsburgh landlord) in our own cabin;
"and we shall tap it to good purpose, I assure
"you; wishing you all manner and kinds of hap-
"piness, and a long life to ourselves that we may
"be partakers of it. We have wondered a hun-
"dred times already, whether you and Mac will
"dine anywhere together, in honour of the day.
"I say yes, but Kate says no. She predicts that
"you'll ask Mac, and he won't go. I have not
"yet heard from him.

The Cincin-
nati steamer.

"We have a better cabin here, than we had
"on board the Britannia; the berths being much
"wider, and the den having two doors: one open-
"ing on the ladies' cabin, and one upon a little
"gallery in the stern of the boat. We expect to

"be at Cincinnati some time on Monday morn-
 "ing, and we carry about fifty passengers. The
 "cabin for meals goes right through the boat,
 "from the prow to the stern, and is very long;
 "only a small portion of it being divided off, by
 "a partition of wood and ground-glass, for the
 "ladies. We breakfast at half after seven, dine
 "at one, and sup at six. Nobody will sit down
 "to any one of these meals, though the dishes
 "are smoking on the board, until the ladies have
 "appeared, and taken their chairs. It was the
 "same in the canal boat.

STEAM BOAT
TO CINCIN-
NATI:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Deference
to ladies.

"The washing department is a little more
 "civilized than it was on the canal, but bad is
 "the best. Indeed the Americans when they are
 "travelling, as Miss Martineau seems disposed to
 "admit, are exceedingly negligent: not to say
 "dirty. To the best of my making out, the ladies,
 "under most circumstances, are content with
 "smearing their hands and faces in a very small
 "quantity of water. So are the men; who
 "superadd to that mode of ablution, a hasty use
 "of the common brush and comb. It is quite
 "a practice, too, to wear but one cotton shirt a
 "week, and three or four fine linen *fronts*. Anne
 "reports that this is Mr. Q's course of proceeding:
 "and my portrait-painting friend told me that it

Frugality in
water and
linen.

STEAM BOAT
TO CINCINNATI:
NATI:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"was the case with pretty nearly all his sitters; "so that when he bought a piece of cloth not "long ago, and instructed the sempstress to make "it *all* into shirts, not fronts, she thought him "deranged.

"My friend the New Englander, of whom I "wrote last night, is perhaps the most intolerable "bore on this vast continent. He drones, and "snuffles, and writes poems, and talks small phi- "losophy and metaphysics, and never *will* be "quiet, under any circumstances. He is going "to a great temperance convention at Cincinnati; "along with a doctor of whom I saw something "at Pittsburgh. The doctor, in addition to being "everything that the New Englander is, is a "phrenologist besides. I dodge them about the "boat. Whenever I appear on deck, I see them "bearing down upon me—and fly. The New "Englander was very anxious last night that he "and I should 'form a magnetic chain,' and "magnetize the doctor, for the benefit of all in- "credulous passengers; but I declined, on the "plea of tremendous occupation in the way of "letter-writing.

Magnetic experiments.

"And speaking of magnetism, let me tell you "that the other night at Pittsburgh, there being "present only Mr. Q and the portrait-painter,

"Kate sat down, laughing, for me to try my hand upon her. I had been holding forth upon the subject rather luminously, and asserting that "I thought I could exercise the influence, but had never tried. In six minutes, I magnetized her into hysterics, and then into the magnetic sleep. "I tried again next night, and she fell into the slumber in little more than two minutes. . . . I can wake her with perfect ease; but I confess "(not being prepared for anything so sudden and complete), I was on the first occasion rather alarmed. . . . The Western parts being sometimes hazardous, I have fitted out the whole of "my little company with LIFE PRESERVERS, which Life preservers.
"I inflate with great solemnity when we get aboard any boat, and keep, as Mrs. Clappins "did her umbrella in the court of common pleas, "ready for use upon a moment's notice." . . .

He resumed his letter, on "Sunday, April the third," with allusion to a general who had called upon him in Washington with two literary ladies, and had written to him next day for an immediate interview, as "the two LL's" were ambitious of the honour of a personal introduction. "Besides the doctor and the dread New Eng-lander, we have on board that valiant general "who wrote to me about the 'two LL's.' He is

STEAM BOAT
TO CINCINNATI:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

- STEAM BOAT** "an old, old man with a weazen face, and the
TO CINCIN- "remains of a pigeon-breast in his military sur-
NATI: "tous.
1842. "He is acutely gentlemanly and officer-

C. D. "like. The breast has so subsided, and the face
to "has become so strongly marked, that he seems
J. F. "like a pigeon-pie, to show only the feet of th.
"bird outside, and to keep the rest to himself.

Bores. "He is perhaps *the* most horrible bore in this
"country. And I am quite serious when I say
"that I do not believe there are, on the whole
"earth besides, so many intensified bores as in
"these United States. No man can form an
"adequate idea of the real meaning of the word,
"without coming here. There are no particular
"characters on board, with these three exceptions.
"Indeed I seldom see the passengers but at meal-
"times, as I read and write in our own little state
"room. . . . I have smuggled two chairs into our
"crib; and write this on a book upon my knee.
"Everything is in the neatest order, of course;
"and my shaving tackle, dressing case, brushes,
"books, and papers, are arranged with as much
"precision as if we were going to remain here a
"month. Thank God we are not.

Habits of neatness.

The Ohio. "The average width of the river rather ex-
"ceeds that of the Thames at Greenwich. In
"parts it is much broader; and then there is

"usually a green island, covered with trees, divid-
"ing it into two streams. Occasionally we stop
"for a few minutes at a small town, or village (I
"ought to say city, everything is a city here); but
"the banks are for the most part deep solitudes,
"overgrown with trees, which, in these western
"latitudes, are already in leaf, and very green

STREAM BOAT
TO CINCINNATI:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

"All this I see, as I write, from the little door
"into the stern-gallery which I mentioned just
"now. It don't happen six times in a day that
"any other passenger comes near it; and, as the
"weather is amply warm enough to admit of our
"sitting with it open, here we remain from morn-
"ing until night: reading, writing, talking. What
"our theme of conversation is, I need not tell
"you. No beauty or variety makes us weary less Wearying
for home.
"for home. We count the days, and say, 'When
"May comes, and we can say—*next month*—the
"time will seem almost gone.' We are never
"tired of imagining what you are all about. I al-
"low of no calculation for the difference of clocks,
"but insist on a corresponding minute in London.
"It is much the shortest way, and best.
"Yesterday, we drank your health and many 2nd April,
"happy returns—in wine, after dinner; in a small
"milk-pot jug of gin-punch, at night. And when
"I made a temporary table, to hold the little

STREAM BOAT "candle-stick, of one of my dressing-case trays;
TO CINCIN- "cunningly inserted under the mattress of my
NATTY: "berth with a weight a-top of it to keep it in its
1842."

C. D. "place, so that it made a perfectly exquisite
to "bracket; we agreed, that, please God, this should
J. F. "be a joke at the Star-and-garter on the second
"of April eighteen hundred and forty-three. If
"your blank *can* be surpassed . . . believe me
"ours transcends it. My heart gets, sometimes,
"SORE for home.

Another
solitary
prison.

New terror
to solitude.

"At Pittsburgh I saw another solitary confinement prison: Pittsburgh being also in Pennsylvania. A horrible thought occurred to me when "I was recalling all I had seen, that night. *What if ghosts be one of the terrors of these jails?* I have pondered on it often, since then. The "utter solitude by day and night; the many hours "of darkness; the silence of death; the mind for "ever brooding on melancholy themes, and having "no relief; sometimes an evil conscience very "busy; imagine a prisoner covering up his head "in the bedclothes and looking out from time to "time, with a ghastly dread of some inexplicable "silent figure that always sits upon his bed, or "stands (if a thing can be said to stand, that "never walks as men do) in the same corner of "his cell. The more I think of it, the more cer-

"tain I feel that not a few of these men (during
 "a portion of their imprisonment at least) are
 "nightly visited by spectres. I did ask one man
 "in this last jail, if he dreamed much. He gave
 "me a most extraordinary look, and said—under
 "his breath—in a whisper—'No.' . . .

CINCINNATI:
 1842.
 C. D.
 to
 J. F.

"CINCINNATI. *Fourth April, 1842.*

"We arrived here this morning: about three o'clock, I believe, but I was fast asleep in my berth. I turned out soon after six, dressed, and breakfasted on board. About half after eight, "we came ashore and drove to the hotel, to which "we had written on from Pittsburgh ordering "rooms; and which is within a stone's throw of "the boat wharf. Before I had issued an official "notification that we were 'not at home,' two "Judges called, on the part of the inhabitants, to "know when we would receive the townspeople. Two judges
in attend-
anco.
 "We appointed to-morrow morning, from half-past eleven to one; arranged to go out, with "these two gentlemen, to see the town, *at* one; "and were fixed for an evening party to-morrow "night at the house of one of them. On Wednesday morning we go on by the mail-boat to Louisville, a trip of fourteen hours; and from that "place proceed in the next good boat to St. Louis,

CINCINNATI: "which is a voyage of four days. Finding from
1842.
— C. D.
to
J. P.
Change of route.

"my judicial friends (well-informed and most agreeable gentlemen) this morning, that the prairie travel to Chicago is a very fatiguing one, "and that the lakes are stormy, sea-sickly, and not over-safe at this season, I wrote by our captain to St. Louis (for the boat that brought us here goes on there) to the effect that I should not take the lake route, but should come back here; "and should visit the prairies, which are within thirty miles of St. Louis, immediately on my arrival there. . . .

Description of the city.

"I have walked to the window, since I turned this page, to see what aspect the town wears. "We are in a wide street: paved in the carriage way with small white stones, and in the footway with small red tiles. The houses are for the most part one story high; some are of wood; others of a clean white brick. Nearly all have green blinds outside every window. The principal shops over the way, are, according to the inscriptions over them, a Large Bread Bakery; a Book Bindery; a Dry Goods Store; and a Carriage Repository; the last named establishment looking very like an exceedingly small retail coal-shed. On the pavement under our window, a black man is chopping wood; and another

"black man is talking (confidentially) to a pig. CINCINNATI:
"The public table, at this hotel and at the hotel 1842.
"opposite, has just now finished dinner. The ——————
"diners are collected on the pavement, on both
"sides of the way, picking their teeth, and talking.
"The day being warm, some of them have brought
"chairs into the street. Some are on three chairs; On the
"some on two; and some, in defiance of all known
"laws of gravity, are sitting quite comfortably on
"one: with three of the chair's legs, and their own
"two, high up in the air. The loungers, under-
"neath our window, are talking of a great Tem-
"perance convention which comes off here to-
"morrow. Others, about me. Others, about Eng-
"land. Sir Robert Peel is popular here, with
"everybody. . . ."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FAR WEST: TO NIAGARA FALLS.

1842.

THE next letter described his experiences in the Far West, his stay in St. Louis, his visit to a Prairie, the return to Cincinnati, and, after a stage-coach ride from that city to Columbus, the travel thence to Sandusky, and so, by Lake Erie, to the Falls of Niagara. All these subjects appear in the *Notes*, but nothing printed there is repeated in the extracts now to be given. Of the closing passages of his journey, when he turned from Columbus in the direction of home, the story, here for the first time told, is in his most characteristic vein; the account that will be found of the Prairie will probably be preferred to what is given in the *Notes*; the Cincinnati sketches are very pleasant; and even such a description as that of the Niagara Falls, of which so much is made in the book, has here an independent novelty and freshness. The first vividness is in his

Descriptions
in letters and
in *Notes*.

BACK TO
CINCINNATI:
1842.

letter. The naturalness of associating no image or sense but of repose, with a grandeur so mighty and resistless, is best presented suddenly; and, in a few words, we have the material as well as moral beauty of a scene unrivalled in its kind upon the earth. The instant impression we find to be worth more than the eloquent recollection.

The captain of the boat that had dropped them at Cincinnati and gone to St. Louis, had stayed in the latter place until they were able to join and return with him; this letter bears date accordingly, "On board the Messenger again. "Going from St. Louis back to Cincinnati. Fri-

C. D.
to
J. F.

"day, fifteenth April, 1842;" and its first paragraph is an outline of the movements which it afterwards describes in detail. "We remained in

Outline of
westward
travel.

"Cincinnati one whole day after the date of my "last, and left on Wednesday morning the 6th. "We reached Louisville soon after midnight on "the same night; and slept there. Next day at "one o'clock we put ourselves on board another "steamer, and travelled on until last Sunday even- "ing the tenth; when we reached St. Louis at "about nine o'clock. The next day we devoted "to seeing the city. Next day, Tuesday the twelfth, "I started off with a party of men (we were four- "teen in all) to see a prairie; returned to St. Louis

BACK TO
CINCINNATI:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

An Arabian-
night city.

Temperance
festival.

"about noon on the thirteenth; attended a soirée "and ball—not a dinner—given in my honor that "night; and yesterday afternoon at four o'clock "we turned our faces homewards. Thank Heaven!

"Cincinnati is only fifty years old, but is a "very beautiful city: I think the prettiest place I "have seen here, except Boston. It has risen out "of the forest like an Arabian-night city; is well "laid out; ornamented in the suburbs with pretty "villas; and above all, for this is a very rare "feature in America, has smooth turf-plots and "well kept gardens. There happened to be a "great temperance festival; and the procession "mustered under, and passed, our windows early "in the morning. I suppose they were twenty "thousand strong, at least. Some of the banners "were quaint and odd enough. The ship-car- "penters, for instance, displayed on one side of "their flag, the good Ship Temperance in full "sail; on the other, the Steamer Alcohol blowing "up sky-high. The Irishmen had a portrait of "Father Mathew, you may be sure. And Wash- "ington's broad lower jaw (by the bye, Washing- "ton had not a pleasant face) figured in all parts "of the ranks. In a kind of square at one out- "skirt of the city, they divided into bodies, and Dry speaking "were addressed by different speakers. Drier

"speaking I never heard. I own that I felt quite
"uncomfortable to think they could take the taste
"of it out of their mouths with nothing better
"than water.

"In the evening we went to a party at Judge <sup>A party at
Walker's.</sup> Walker's, and were introduced to at least one
"hundred and fifty first-rate bores, separately and
"singly. I was required to sit down by the greater
"part of them, and talk!* In the night we were

BACK TO
CINCINNATI:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

* A young lady's account of this party, written next morning, and quoted in one of the American memoirs of Dickens, enables us to contemplate his suffering from the point of view of those who inflicted it. "I went last even-

"ing to a party at Judge Walker's, given to the hero of the "day. . . . When we reached the house Mr. Dickens had

"left the crowded rooms, and was in the hall with his wife,
"about taking his departure when we entered the door.

"We were introduced to him in our wrapping; and in the <sup>The party
from another
view.</sup> flurry and embarrassment of the meeting, one of the party

"dropped a parcel, containing shoes, gloves, &c. Mr.

"Dickens, stooping, gathered them up and restored them

"with a laughing remark, and we bounded upstairs to get

"our things off. Hastening down again, we found him with

"Mrs. Dickens seated upon a sofa, surrounded by a group

"of ladies; Judge Walker having requested him to delay his

"departure for a few moments, for the gratification of some

"tardy friends who had just arrived, ourselves among the

"number. Declining to re-enter the rooms where he had

"already taken leave of the guests, he had seated himself in

**BACK TO
CINCINNATI:** "serenaded (as we usually are in every place we
1842. "come to), and very well serenaded, I assure you.

C. D.

to

J. F.

"the hall. He is young and handsome, has a mellow, beau-
"tiful eye, fine brow, and abundant hair. His mouth is
"large, and his smile so bright it seemed to shed light and
"happiness all about him. His manner is easy, negligent,
"but not elegant. His dress was foppish; in fact, he was
"overdressed, yet his garments were worn so easily they ap-
"peared to be a necessary part of him. (!) He had a dark
"coat, with lighter pantaloons; a black waistcoat, embroidered
"with colored flowers; and about his neck, covering his
"white shirt-front, was a black neckcloth, also embroidered
"in colors, in which were placed two large diamond pins
"connected by a chain. A gold watch-chain, and a large
Young lady's
description of
C. D.
"red rose in his button-hole, completed his toilet. He ap-
"peared a little weary, but answered the remarks made to
"him—for he originated none—in an agreeable manner. Mr.
"Beard's portrait of Fagin was so placed in the room that
"we could see it from where we stood surrounding him.
"One of the ladies asked him if it was his idea of the Jew.
"He replied, 'Very nearly.' Another, laughingly, requested
"that he would give her the rose he wore, as a memento.
"He shook his head and said: 'That will not do; he could
"not give it to one; the others would be jealous.' A half
"dozen then insisted on having it, whereupon he proposed
"to divide the leaves among them. In taking the rose from
"his coat, either by design or accident, the leaves loosened
"and fell upon the floor, and amid considerable laughter the
"ladies stooped and gathered them. He remained some
"twenty minutes, perhaps, in the hall, and then took his
"leave. I must confess to considerable disappointment in

BACK TO
CINCINNATI:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Mournful
results of
boredom.

"But we were very much knocked up. I really
"think my face has acquired a fixed expression
"of sadness from the constant and unmitigated
"boring I endure. The LL's have carried away
"all my cheerfulness. There is a line in my chin
"(on the right side of the under-lip), indelibly
"fixed there by the New-Englander I told you of
"in my last. I have the print of a crow's foot on
"the outside of my left eye, which I attribute to
"the literary characters of small towns. A dimple
"has vanished from my cheek, which I felt myself
"robbed of at the time by a wise legislator. But
"on the other hand I am really indebted for a
"good broad grin to P.. E., literary critic of
"Philadelphia, and sole proprietor of the English
"language in its grammatical and idiomatical
"purity; to P.. E., with the shiny straight hair
"and turned-down shirt collar, who taketh all of
"us English men of letters to task in print,
"roundly and uncompromisingly, but told me, at
"the same time, that I had 'awakened a new era'
"in his mind. . . .

"The last 200 miles of the voyage from Cin-

"the personal of my idol. I felt that his throne was shaken,
"although it never could be destroyed." This appalling
picture supplements and very sufficiently explains the mourn-
ful passage in the text.

FROM CIN-
CINCINNATI TO
ST. LOUIS:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

"cinnati to St. Louis are upon the Mississippi, "for you come down the Ohio to its mouth. It is well for society that this Mississippi, the renowned father of waters, had no children who take after him. It is the beastliest river in the world." . . . (His description is in the *Notes*.)

**Down the
Mississippi.**

"Conceive the pleasure of rushing down this stream by night (as we did last night) at the rate of fifteen miles an hour; striking against floating blocks of timber every instant; and dreading some infernal blow at every bump. "The helmsman in these boats is in a little glass-house upon the roof. In the Mississippi, another man stands in the very head of the vessel, listening

**Listening and
watching.** "ing and watching intently; listening, because they can tell in dark nights by the noise when any great obstruction is at hand. This man holds the rope of a large bell which hangs close to the wheel-house, and whenever he pulls it, the engine is to stop directly, and not to stir until he rings again. Last night, this bell rang at least once in every five minutes; and at each alarm there was a concussion which nearly flung one out of bed. . . . While I have been writing this account, we have shot out of that hideous river, thanks be to God; never to see it again, "I hope, but in a nightmare. We are now on the

"smooth Ohio, and the change is like the transition from pain to perfect ease.

ST. LOUIS:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"We had a very crowded levee in St. Louis. "Of course the paper had an account of it. If I "were to drop a letter in the street, it would be "in the newspaper next day, and nobody would "think its publication an outrage. The editor ^{A levee at} _{St. Louis.} objected to my hair, as not curling sufficiently. "He admitted an eye; but objected again to "dress, as being somewhat foppish, 'and indeed "perhaps rather flash.' — 'But such,' he bene- "volently adds, 'are the differences between Amer- "ican and English taste — rendered more ap- "parent, perhaps, by all the other gentlemen "present being dressed in black.' Oh, that you "could have seen the other gentlemen!

"A St. Louis lady complimented Kate upon Compliments. "her voice and manner of speaking: assuring her "that she should never have suspected her of "being Scotch, or even English. She was so "obliging as to add that she would have taken "her for an American, anywhere: which she (Kate) "was no doubt aware was a very great compli- "ment, as the Americans were admitted on all "hands to have greatly refined upon the English "language! I need not tell you that out of Boston "and New York a nasal drawl is universal, but I

ST. LOUIS: "may as well hint that the prevailing grammar is
 1842.
 C. D.
 to
 J. F.
 Peculiarities
 of speech.

"also more than doubtful; that the oddest vul-
 garisms are received idioms; that all the women
 "who have been bred in slave-states speak more
 "or less like negroes, from having been constantly
 "in their childhood with black nurses; and that
 "the most fashionable and aristocratic (these are
 "two words in great use), instead of asking you
 "in what place you were born, enquire where
 "you 'hail from'!!

Lord Ashburton's arrival.

"Lord Ashburton arrived at Annapolis t' other
 "day, after a voyage of forty odd days in heavy
 "weather. Straightway the newspapers state, on
 "the authority of a correspondent who 'rowed
 "'round the ship' (I leave you to fancy her con-
 "dition),, that America need fear no superiority
 "from England, in respect of her wooden walls.
 "The same correspondent is 'quite pleased' with
 "the frank manner of the English officers; and
 "patronizes them as being, for John Bulls, quite
 "refined. My face, like Haji Baba's, turns upside
 "down, and my liver is changed to water, when I
 "come upon such things, and think who writes
 "and who read them. . . .

"They won't let me alone about slavery. A
 "certain Judge in St. Louis went so far yester-
 "day, that I fell upon him (to the indescribable

“horror of the man who brought him) and told St. Louis:
“him a piece of my mind. I said that I was very 1842.
“averse to speaking on the subject here, and al- C. D.
“ways forbore, if possible: but when he pitied to
“our national ignorance of the truths of slavery, J. F.
“I must remind him that we went upon indisput-
“able records, obtained after many years of care-
“ful investigation, and at all sorts of self-sacrifice;
“and that I believed we were much more compe-
“tent to judge of its atrocity and horror, than he
“who had been brought up in the midst of it.
“I told him that I could sympathise with men
“who admitted it to be a dreadful evil, but
“frankly confessed their inability to devise a
“means of getting rid of it: but that men who
“spoke of it as a blessing, as a matter of course,
“as a state of things to be desired, were out of
“the pale of reason; and that for them to speak
“of ignorance or prejudice was an absurdity too
“ridiculous to be combated. . .

“It is not six years ago, since a slave in this
“very same St. Louis, being arrested (I forget for
“what), and knowing he had no chance of a fair
“trial, be his offence what it might, drew his
“bowie knife and ripped the constable across the
“body. A scuffle ensuing, the desperate negro
“stabbed two others with the same weapon. The

Talk with
a judge on
slavery.

St. Louis: "mob who gathered round (among whom were
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.
A negro
burnt alive.

"men of mark, wealth, and influence in the place)
"overpowered him by numbers; carried him away
"to a piece of open ground beyond the city; *and*
"*burned him alive.* This, I say, was done within
"six years in broad day; in a city with its courts,
"lawyers, tipstaffs, judges, jails, *and* hangman;
"and not a hair on the head of one of those men
"has been hurt to this day. And it is, believe
"me, it is the miserable, wretched independence
"in small things; the paltry republicanism which
"recoils from honest service to an honest man,
"but does not shrink from every trick, artifice,
"and knavery in business; that makes these slaves
"necessary, and will render them so, until the in-
"dignation of other countries sets them free.

Feeling of
slaves
themselves.

"They say the slaves are fond of their mas-
ters. Look at this pretty vignette*, (part of the
"stock-in-trade of a newspaper), and judge how
"you would feel, when men, looking in your face,
"told you such tales with the newspaper lying on
"the table. In all the slave districts, advertise-

* "RUNAWAY NEGRO IN JAIL" was the heading of the advertisement enclosed, which had a woodcut of master and slave in its corner, and announced that Wilford Garner, sheriff and jailer of Chicot County, Arkansas, requested owner to come and prove property—or—

"ments for runaways are as much matters of St. Louis:
1842.
"course as the announcement of the play for the
"evening with us. The poor creatures themselves
"fairly worship English people: they would do
"anything for them. They are perfectly acquainted
"with all that takes place in reference to emanci-
"pation; and *of course* their attachment to us
"grows out of their deep devotion to their owners.
"I cut this illustration out of a newspaper which
"had a leader in reference to *the abominable and*
"*hellish doctrine of Abolition—repugnant alike to*
"every law of God and Nature. 'I know some-
"thing' said a Dr. Bartlett (a very accomplished Dr. Bartlett.
"man), late a fellow-passenger of ours: 'I know
"something of their fondness for their masters.
"I live in Kentucky; and I can assert upon my
"honour, that, in my neighbourhood, it is as
"common for a runaway slave, retaken, to draw
"his bowie knife and rip his owner's bowels
"open, as it is for you to see a drunken fight in
"London.'"

"*SAME BOAT, Saturday, Sixteenth April, 1842.*

"Let me tell you, my dear Forster, before I Pretty little
scene.
"forget it, a pretty little scene we had on board
"the boat between Louisville and St. Louis, as
"we were going to the latter place. It is not

St. Louis: "much to tell, but it was very pleasant and interesting to witness."

1842.
O. D.
to
J. F.

What follows has been printed in the *Notes*, and ought not, by the rule I have laid down, to be given here. But, beautiful as the printed description is, it has not profited by the alteration of some touches and the omission of others in the first fresh version of it, which, for that reason, I here preserve—one of the most charming soul-felt pictures of character and emotion that ever warmed the heart in fact or fiction. It was, I think, Jeffrey's favorite passage in all the writings of Dickens: and certainly, if anyone would learn the secret of their popularity, it is to be read in the observation and description of this little incident.

A little
mother:

"There was a little woman on board, with a "little baby; and both little woman and little child "were cheerful, good-looking, bright-eyed, and "fair to see. The little woman had been passing "a long time with a sick mother in New York, "and had left her home in St. Louis in that con- "dition in which ladies who truly love their lords "desire to be. The baby had been born in her "mother's house, and she had not seen her hus-
band (to whom she was now returning) for twelve "months: having left him a month or two after
returning to her husband.

"their marriage. Well, to be sure, there never was ST. LOUIS:
1842.
"a little woman so full of hope, and tenderness,
"and love, and anxiety, as this little woman was:
"and there she was, all the livelong day, wonder-
"ing whether 'he' would be at the wharf; and
"whether 'he' had got her letter; and whether, if
"she sent the baby on shore by somebody else,
" '*he would know it, meeting it in the street:*' which,
"seeing that he had never set eyes upon it in his
"life, was not very likely in the abstract, but was
"probable enough to the young mother. She
"was such an artless little creature; and was in
"such a sunny, beaming, hopeful state; and let
"out all this matter, clinging close about her heart,
"so freely; that all the other lady passengers
"entered into the spirit of it as much as she: and
"the captain (who heard all about it from his
"wife) was wondrous sly, I promise you: enquiring,
"every time we met at table, whether she expected
"anybody to meet her at St. Louis, and supposing
"she wouldn't want to go ashore the night we
"reached it, and cutting many other dry jokes
"which convulsed all his hearers, but especially
"the ladies. There was one little, weazen, dried-
"apple old woman among them, who took occa-
"sion to doubt the constancy of husbands under
"such circumstances of bereavement; and there

The ladies
and the
captain.

St. Louis: "was another lady (with a lap dog), old enough
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F. "to moralize on the lightness of human affections,

The little
mother and
her baby.

"and yet not so old that she could help nursing
"the baby now and then, or laughing with the
"rest when the little woman called it by its father's
"name, and asked it all manner of fantastic ques-
"tions concerning him, in the joy of her heart.
"It was something of a blow to the little woman,
"that when we were within twenty miles of our
"destination, it became clearly necessary to put
"the baby to bed; but she got over that with the
"same good humour, tied a little handkerchief
"over her little head, and came out into the gal-
"lery with the rest. Then, such an oracle as she
"became in reference to the localities! and such
"facetiousness as was displayed by the married
"ladies! and such sympathy as was shown by the
"single ones! and such peals of laughter as the
"little woman herself (who would just as soon
"have cried) greeted every jest with! At last,
"there were the lights of St. Louis—and here was
"the wharf—and those were the steps—and the
"little woman, covering her face with her hands,
"and laughing, or seeming to laugh, more than
"ever, ran into her own cabin, and shut herself up
"tight. I have no doubt, that, in the charming
"inconsistency of such excitement, she stopped

St. Louis
in sight.

"her ears lest she should hear 'him' asking for ST. LOUIS:
"her; but I didn't see her do it. Then a great 1842.
"crowd of people rushed on board, though the C. D.
"boat was not yet made fast, and was staggering to
"about among the other boats to find a landing-
"place; and everybody looked for the husband,
"and nobody saw him; when all of a sudden,
"right in the midst of them—God knows how she
"ever got there—there was the little woman The meeting.
"hugging with both arms round the neck of a
"fine, good-looking, sturdy fellow! And in a
"moment afterwards, there she was again, dragging
"him through the small door of her small cabin,
"to look at the baby as he lay asleep!—What a
"good thing it is to know that so many of us
"would have been quite downhearted and sorry
"if that husband had failed to come."

He then resumes: but in what follows nothing is repeated that will be found in his printed description of the jaunt to the looking-glass prairie.

"But about the Prairie—it is not, I must con- Trip to a
"fess, so good in its way as this; but I'll tell you prairie.
"all about that too, and leave you to judge for
"yourself. Tuesday the 12th was the day fixed;
"and we were to start at five in the morning—
"sharp. I turned out at four; shaved and dressed;
"got some bread and milk; and throwing up the

Sr. Louis: "window, looked down into the street. Deuce a
 1842.
 ——————
O. D. "coach was there, nor did anybody seem to be
 to
J. F. "stirring in the house. I waited until half-past
 "five; but no preparations being visible even then,
 "I left Mr. Q to look out, and lay down upon
 "the bed again. There I slept until nearly seven,
 "when I was called. . . . Exclusive of Mr. Q and
 "myself, there were twelve of my committee in
 "the party: all lawyers except one. He was an
 "intelligent, mild, well-informed gentleman of my
 "own age—the unitarian minister of the place.
 "With him, and two other companions, I got in-
 "to the first coach. . . .

A good inn. "We halted at so good an inn at Lebanon
 "that we resolved to return there at night, if pos-
 "sible. One would scarcely find a better village
 "alehouse of a homely kind in England. During
 "our halt I walked into the village, and met a
 "*dwelling-house* coming down-hill at a good round
 "trot, drawn by some twenty oxen! We resumed
 "our journey as soon as possible, and got upon
 "the looking-glass prairie at sunset. We halted
 "near a solitary log-house for the sake of its water;
 "unpacked the baskets; formed an encampment
 "with the carriages; and dined.

On the
prairie at
sunset.

"Now, a prairie is undoubtedly worth seeing
 "—but more, that one may say one has seen it,

"than for any sublimity it possesses in itself. St. Louis:
"Like most things, great or small, in this coun- 1842.
try, you hear of it with considerable exagge- C. D.
rations. Basil Hall was really quite right in de- J. F.
preciating the general character of the scenery. General
"The widely-famed Far West is not to be com- character
pared with even the tamest portions of Scotland
"or Wales. You stand upon the prairie, and see
"the unbroken horizon all round you. You are
"on a great plain, which is like a sea without
"water. I am exceedingly fond of wild and lone-
ly scenery, and believe that I have the faculty
"of being as much impressed by it as any man
"living. But the prairie fell, by far, short of my
"preconceived idea. I felt no such emotions as
"I do in crossing Salisbury plain. The excessive
"flatness of the scene makes it dreary, but tame.
"Grandeur is certainly not its characteristic. I
"retired from the rest of the party, to understand
"my own feelings the better; and looked all
"round, again and again. It was fine. It was The prairie
"worth the ride. The sun was going down, very described.
"red and bright; and the prospect looked like
"that ruddy sketch of Catlin's, which attracted
"our attention (you remember?); except that there
"was not so much ground as he represents, be-
"tween the spectator and the horizon. But to

ST. LOUIS: "say (as the fashion is, here) that the sight is a
 1842.
 C. D. "landmark in one's existence, and awakens a new
 to J. F. "set of sensations, is sheer gammon. I would
 Disappointment. "say to every man who can't see a prairie—go
 "to Salisbury plain, Marlborough downs, or any
 "of the broad, high, open lands near the sea.
 "Many of them are fully as impressive; and Salis-
 "bury plain is *decidedly* more so.

Enjoyment. "We had brought roast fowls, buffalo's tongue,
 "ham, bread, cheese, butter, biscuits, sherry,
 "champagne, lemons and sugar for punch, and
 "abundance of ice. It was a delicious meal: and
 "as they were most anxious that I should be
 "pleased, I warmed myself into a state of surpass-
 "ing jollity; proposed toasts from the coach-box
 "(which was the chair); ate and drank with the
 "best; and made, I believe, an excellent com-
 "panion to a very friendly companionable party.
 "In an hour or so, we packed up, and drove
 "back to the inn at Lebanon. While supper was
 "preparing, I took a pleasant walk with my uni-
 "tarian friend; and when it was over (we drank
 "nothing with it but tea and coffee) we went to
 "bed. The clergyman and I had an exquisitely
 "clean little chamber of our own: and the rest of
 "the party were quartered overhead.

"We got back to St. Louis soon after twelve

"at noon; and I rested during the remainder of ST. LOUIS:
"the day. The soirée came off at night, in a very 1842.
"good ball-room at our inn—the Planter's-house. C. D.
"The whole of the guests were introduced to us, Soirée at the
"singly. We were glad enough, you may believe, Planter's-
"to come away at midnight; and were very tired. house.
"Yesterday, I wore a blouse. To-day, a fur-coat.
"Trying changes!

"IN THE SAME BOAT.
"Sunday, Sixteenth April, 1842.

"The inns in these outlandish corners of the Planters'
"world, would astonish you by their goodness. inns.
"The Planter's-house is as large as the Middle-
"sex-hospital and built very much on our hospital
"plan, with long wards abundantly ventilated,
"and plain whitewashed walls. They had a fa-
"mous notion of sending up at breakfast-time Good fare.
"large glasses of new milk with blocks of ice in
"them as clear as crystal. Our table was abun-
"dantly supplied indeed at every meal. One day
"when Kate and I were dining alone together, in
"our own room, we counted sixteen dishes on
"the table at the same time.

"The society is pretty rough, and intolerably No grey
"conceited. All the inhabitants are young. I St. Louis.
"didn't see one grey head in St. Louis. There is
"an island close by, called bloody island. It is

ST. LOUIS: "the duelling ground of St. Louis; and is so
^{1842.}
 C. D. "called from the last fatal duel which was fought
 to
 J. F. "there. It was a pistol duel, breast to breast,
 "and both parties fell dead at the same time.
 "One of our prairie party (a young man) had acted
 "as second there, in several encounters. The last
 Duelling.
 "occasion was a duel with rifles, at forty paces;
 "and coming home he told us how he had bought
 "his man a coat of green linen to fight in, wool-
 "len being usually fatal to rifle wounds. Prairie
 "is variously called (on the refinement principle
 "I suppose) Paraarer; parearer; and paroarer. I
 "am afraid, my dear fellow, you will have had
 "great difficulty in reading all the foregoing text.
 "I have written it, very laboriously, on my knee;
 "and the engine throbs and starts as if the boat
 "were possessed with a devil.

"SANDUSKY.

"Sunday, Twenty-fourth April, 1842.

From
Louisville to
Cincinnati.

"We went ashore at Louisville this night week,
 "where I left off, two lines above; and slept at
 "the hotel, in which we had put up before. The
 "Messenger being abominably slow, we got our
 "luggage out next morning, and started on again
 "at eleven o'clock in the Benjamin Franklin mail
 "boat: a splendid vessel with a cabin more than
 "two hundred feet long, and little state-rooms

SANDUSKY:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.

"affording proportionate conveniences. She got *Mrs. Dickens
as a traveller.*
"in at Cincinnati by one o'clock next morning,
"when we landed in the dark and went back to
"our old hotel. As we made our way on foot
"over the broken pavement, Anne measured her
"length upon the ground, but didn't hurt herself.
"I say nothing of Kate's troubles—but you recol-
"lect her propensity? She falls into, or out of,
"every coach or boat we enter; scrapes the skin
"off her legs; brings great sores and swellings on
"her feet; chips large fragments out of her ankle-
"bones; and makes herself blue with bruises. She
"really has, however, since we got over the first
"trial of being among circumstances so new and
"so fatiguing, made a *most admirable* traveller in
"every respect. She has never screamed or ex-
"pressed alarm under circumstances that would
"have fully justified her in doing so, even in my
"eyes; has never given way to despondency or
"fatigue, though we have now been travelling in-
"cessantly, through a very rough country, for
"more than a month, and have been at times, as
"you may readily suppose, most thoroughly tired;
"has always accommodated herself, well and
"cheerfully, to everything; and has pleased me
"very much, and proved herself perfectly game.

SANDUSKY:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

From Cin-
cinnati to
Columbus.

A levee at
Columbus.

What a levee
is like.

"We remained at Cincinnati, all Tuesday the nineteenth, and all that night. At eight o'clock "on Wednesday morning the twentieth, we left in "the mail stage for Columbus: Anne, Kate, and "Mr. Q inside; I on the box. The distance is a "hundred and twenty miles; the road macadam- "ized; and for an American road, very good. We "were three and twenty hours performing the "journey. We travelled all night; reached Co- "lumbus at seven in the morning; breakfasted; "and went to bed until dinner time. At night "we held a levee for half an hour, and the people "poured in as they always do: each gentleman "with a lady on each arm, exactly like the Chorus "to God Save the Queen. I wish you could see "them, that you might know what a splendid "comparison this is. They wear their clothes, "precisely as the chorus people do; and stand— "supposing Kate and me to be in the centre of "the stage, with our backs to the footlights—just "as the company would, on the first night of the "season. They shake hands exactly after the "manner of the guests at a ball at the Adelphi or "the Haymarket; receive any facetiousness on my "part, as if there were a stage direction 'all laugh;' "and have rather more difficulty in 'getting off' "than the last gentlemen, in white pantaloons,

"polished boots, and berlins, usually display, SANDUSKY:
1842.
"under the most trying circumstances.

"Next morning, that is to say on Friday the 22nd at seven o'clock exactly, we resumed our journey, The stage from Columbus to this place "only running thrice a week, and not on that day, "I bargained for an 'exclusive extra' with four "horses, for which I paid forty dollars, or eight "pounds English: the horses changing, as they "would if it were the regular stage. To ensure "our getting on properly, the proprietors sent an "agent on the box; and, with no other company "but him and a hamper full of eatables and "drinkables, we went upon our way. It is im- "possible to convey an adequate idea to you of "the kind of road over which we travelled. I can A corduroy road.
"only say that it was, at the best, but a track "through the wild forest, and among the swamps, "bogs, and morasses of the withered bush. A "great portion of it was what is called a 'corduroy "road:' which is made by throwing round logs "or whole trees into a swamp, and leaving them "to settle there. Good Heaven! if you only felt "one of the least of the jolts with which the "coach falls from log to log! It is like nothing "but going up a steep flight of stairs in an "omnibus. Now the coach flung us in a heap on

C. D.

to

J. F.

From Colum-
bus to San-
dusky.

SANDUSKY: "its floor, and now crushed our heads against its
1842.

C. D.
^{to}
J. F. "roof. Now one side of it was deep in the mire,
"and we were holding on to the other. Now it
"was lying on the horses' tails, and now again
"upon its back. But it never, never, was in any
"position, attitude, or kind of motion, to which
"we are accustomed in coaches; or made the
"smallest approach to our experience of the pro-
"ceedings of any sort of vehicle that goes on
"wheels. Still, the day was beautiful, the air de-

The travel-
lers alone.
"licious, and we were *alone*: with no tobacco
"spittle, or eternal prosy conversation about dol-
"lars and politics (the only two subjects they ever
"converse about, or can converse upon) to bore
"us. We really enjoyed it; made a joke of the
"being knocked about; and were quite merry. At
"two o'clock we stopped in the wood to open
"our hamper and dine; and we drank to our
"darlings and all friends at home. Then we
"started again and went on until ten o'clock at
"night: when we reached a place called Lower
"Sandusky, sixty-two miles from our starting point.

A thunder
storm.
"The last three hours of the journey were not
"very pleasant, for it lightened—awfully: every
"flash very vivid, very blue, and very long: and;
"the wood being so dense that the branches on
"either side of the track rattled and broke *against*

"the coach, it was rather a dangerous neighbour-hood for a thunder storm.

"The inn at which we halted was a rough log-house. The people were all abed, and we

SANDUSKY:
1842.

C. D.

to

J. F.

A log-house
inn.

"had to knock them up. We had the queerest sleeping room, with two doors, one opposite the other; both opening directly on the wild black country, and neither having any lock or bolt. "The effect of these opposite doors was, that one was always blowing the other open: an ingenuity

"in the art of building, which I don't remember "to have met with before. You should have seen "me, in my shirt, blockading them with portman-

"teaus, and desperately endeavouring to make Making tidy.

"the room tidy! But the blockading was really "needful, for in my dressing case I have about 250*l.* in gold; and for the amount of the middle figure in that scarce metal, there are not a few "men in the West who would murder their fathers. "Apropos of this golden store, consider at your "leisure the strange state of things in this country.

"It has no money; really *no money*. The bank

A monetary
crisis.

"paper won't pass; the newspapers are full of advertisements from tradesmen who sell by barter; "and American gold is not to be had, or purchased. I bought sovereigns, English sovereigns, "at first: but as I could get none of them at Cin-

SANDUSKY: "cinnati, to this day, I have had to purchase
 1842.
 C. D. to J. F. "French gold; 20-franc pieces; with which I am
 "travelling as if I were in Paris!"

"But let's go back to Lower Sandusky. Mr. Q
 "went to bed up in the roof of the log-house
 "somewhere, but was so beset by bugs that he
 "got up after an hour and *lay in the coach*
 "where he was obliged to wait till breakfast time.

Breakfast at the inn. "We breakfasted, driver and all, in the one com-
 "mon room. It was papered with newspapers,
 "and was as rough a place as need be. At half
 "past seven we started again, and we reached
 "Sandusky at six o'clock yesterday afternoon. It
 "is on Lake Erie, twenty-four hours' journey by
 "steam boat from Buffalo. We found no boat
 "here, nor has there been one, since. We are
 "waiting, with every thing packed up, ready to
 "start on the shortest notice; and are anxiously
 "looking out for smoke in the distance.

"There was an old gentleman in the Log inn
 "at Lower Sandusky who treats with the Indians
 "on the part of the American government, and
 "has just concluded a treaty with the Wyandot
 "Indians at that place to remove next year to
 "some land provided for them west of the Mis-
 "sissippi: a little way beyond St. Louis. He de-
 "scribed his negotiation to me, and their reluc-

"tance to go, exceedingly well. They are a fine ^{SANDUSKY:}
"people, but degraded and broken down. If you ^{1842.}
"could see any of their men and women on a ^{O. D.}
"race-course in England, you would not know ^{to}
"them from gipsies. ^{J. F. Indians.}

"We are in a small house here, but a very
"comfortable one, and the people are exceedingly
"obliging. Their demeanour in these country
"parts is invariably morose, sullen, clownish, and
"repulsive. I should think there is not, on the
"face of the earth, a people so entirely destitute
"of humour, vivacity, or the capacity of enjoy- ^{American}
"ment. It is most remarkable. I am quite serious ^{people not}
"when I say that I have not heard a hearty laugh ^{given to}
"these six weeks, except my own; nor have I seen ^{humour.}
"a merry face on any shoulders but a black man's.
"Lounging listlessly about; idling in bar-rooms; ^{The only}
"smoking; spitting; and lolling on the pavement ^{recreations.}
"in rocking-chairs, outside the shop doors; are
"the only recreations. I don't think the national
"shrewdness extends beyond the Yankees; that
"is, the Eastern men. The rest are heavy, dull,
"and ignorant. Our landlord here is from the
"East. He is a handsome, obliging, civil fellow. A landlord.
"He comes into the room with his hat on; spits
"in the fire place as he talks; sits down on the
"sofa with his hat on; pulls out his newspaper,

**NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.**

“and reads; but to all this I am accustomed. He “is anxious to please—and that is enough.

C. D.
to
J. F.

“We are wishing very much for a boat; for “we hope to find our letters at Buffalo. It is half “past one; and as there is no boat in sight, we “are fain (sorely against our wills) to order an “early dinner.

“Tuesday, April Twenty-sixth, 1842.
“NIAGARA FALLS!!! (UPON THE ENGLISH* SIDE).

From San-
dusky to
Buffalo.

“I don’t know at what length I might have “written you from Sandusky, my beloved friend, “if a steamer had not come in sight just as I “finished the last unintelligible sheet (oh! the ink “in these parts!): whereupon I was obliged to “pack up bag and baggage, to swallow a hasty “apology for a dinner, and to hurry my train on “board with all the speed I might. She was a “fine steamship, four hundred tons burden, name “the Constitution, had very few passengers on “board, and had bountiful and handsome accom- “modation. It’s all very fine talking about Lake “Erie, but it won’t do for persons who are liable
On Lake Erie. “to sea-sickness. We were all sick. It’s almost “as bad in that respect as the Atlantic. The

* Ten dashes underneath the word.

"waves are very short, and horribly constant. We reached Buffalo at six this morning; went ashore to breakfast; sent to the post-office forthwith; "and received—oh! who or what can say with "how much pleasure and what unspeakable delight!—our English letters!"

NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"We lay all Sunday night, at a town (and a "beautiful town too) called Cleveland; on Lake Erie. The people poured on board, in crowds, "by six on Monday morning, to see me; and a "party of 'gentlemen' actually planted themselves "before our little cabin, and stared in at the door "and windows *while I was washing, and Kate lay* Gazed at. "in bed. I was so incensed at this, and at a certain newspaper published in that town which I "had accidentally seen in Sandusky (advocating "war with England to the death, saying that Britain must be 'whipped again,' and promising "all true Americans that within two years they "should sing Yankee-doodle in Hyde-park and "Hail Columbia in the courts of Westminster), "that when the mayor came on board to present "himself to me, according to custom, I refused to "see him, and bade Mr. Q tell him why and Rude re-ception of a mayor: "wherefore. His honor took it very coolly, and "retired to the top of the wharf, with a big stick his consola-tion. "and a whittling knife, with which he worked so

NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"lustily (staring at the closed door of our cabin
"all the time) that long before the boat left, the
"big stick was no bigger than a cribbage peg!

"I never in my life was in such a state of ex-

From Buffalo "citement as coming from Buffalo here, this
to Niagara.

"morning. You come by railroad; and are nigh
"two hours upon the way. I looked out for the
"spray, and listened for the roar, as far beyond
"the bounds of possibility, as though, landing in
"Liverpool, I were to listen for the music of your
"pleasant voice in Lincoln's-inn-fields. At last,
"when the train stopped, I saw two great white
"clouds rising up from the depths of the earth—
"nothing more. They rose up slowly, gently,
"majestically, into the air. I dragged Kate down
"a deep and slippery path leading to the ferry
"boat; bullied Anne for not coming fast enough;
"perspired at every pore; and felt, it is impossible
"to say how, as the sound grew louder and louder
"in my ears, and yet nothing could be seen for
"the mist.

Nearing the Falls. "There were two English officers with us (ah!
"what *gentlemen*, what noblemen of nature they
"seemed), and they hurried off with me; leaving
"Kate and Anne on a crag of ice; and clambered
"after me over the rocks at the foot of the small
"Fall, while the ferryman was getting the boat

Nearer still

NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"ready: I was not disappointed—but I could "make out nothing. In an instant, I was blinded "by the spray, and wet to the skin. I saw the "water tearing madly down from some immense "height, but could get no idea of shape, or situa- "tion; or anything but vague immensity. But "when we were seated in the boat, and crossing "at the very foot of the cataract—then I began "to feel what it was. Directly I had changed my "clothes at the inn I went out again, taking Kate "with me; and hurried to the Horse-shoe-fall. I ^{Horse-}_{shoe-fall.} "went down alone, into the very basin. It would "be hard for a man to stand nearer God than he "does there. There was a bright rainbow at my "feet; and from that I looked up to—great Heaven! "to *what* a fall of bright green water! The broad, "deep, mighty stream seems to die in the act of "falling; and, from its unfathomable grave arises "that tremendous ghost of spray and mist which "is never laid, and has been haunting this place A fancy. "with the same dread solemnity—perhaps from "the creation of the world.

"We purpose remaining here a week. In my "next, I will try to give you some idea of my im- "pressions, and to tell you how they change with "every day. At present it is impossible. I can Effect upon
him of
Niagara.

NIAGARA
 FALLS :
 1842.
 C. D.
 to
 J. F.

"spectacle on me, was peace of mind—tran-
 "quillity—great thoughts of eternal rest and hap-
 "piness—nothing of terror. I can shudder at the
 "recollection of Glencoe (dear friend, with Heaven's
 "leave we must see Glencoe together), but when-
 "ever I think of Niagara, I shall think of its
 "beauty.

The old re-
collection.

"If you could hear the roar that is in my ears
 "as I write this. Both Falls are under our windows.
 "From our sitting-room and bed-room we look
 "down straight upon them. There is not a soul
 "in the house but ourselves. What would I give
 "if you and Mac were here, to share the sensa-
 "tions of this time! I was going to add, what
 "would I give if the dear girl whose ashes lie in
 "Kensal-green, had lived to come so far along
 "with us—but she has been here many times, I
 "doubt not, since her sweet face faded from my
 "earthly sight.

"One word on the precious letters before I
 "close. You are right, my dear fellow, about the
 "papers; and you are right (I grieve to say) about
 "the people. *Am I right?* quoth the conjuror.
 "Yes! from gallery, pit, and boxes. I *did* let out
 "those things, at first, against my will, but when

"I come to tell you all—well; only wait—only
"wait—till the end of July. I say no more.

"I do perceive a perplexingly divided and
"subdivided duty, in the matter of the book of
"travels. Oh! the sublimated essence of comi-
"cality that I *could* distil, from the materials I
"have! . . . You are a part, and an essential part,
"of our home, dear friend, and I exhaust my ^{Looking forward.}
"imagination in picturing the circumstances un-
"der which I shall surprise you by walking into
"58, Lincoln's-inn fields. We are truly grateful
"to God for the health and happiness of our in-
"expressibly dear children and all our friends.
"But one letter more—only one. . . . I don't
"seem to have been half affectionate enough, but
"there *are* thoughts, you know, that lie too deep
"for words."

NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NIAGARA AND MONTREAL.

1842.

NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.

Last two
letters.

My friend was better than his word, and two more letters reached me before his return. The opening of the first was written from Niagara on the third, and its close from Montreal on the twelfth, of May; from which latter city also, on the 26th of that month, the last of all was written.

Dickens
vanquished.

Much of the first of these letters had reference to the international copyright agitation, and gave strong expression to the indignation awakened in him (nor less in some of the best men of America) by the adoption, at a public meeting in Boston itself, of a memorial against any change of the law, in the course of which it was stated, that, if English authors were invested with any control over the republication of their own books, it would be no longer possible for American editors to alter and adapt them to the American taste.

This deliberate declaration however, unsparing as Dickens's anger at it was, in effect vanquished him. He saw the hopelessness of pursuing further any present effort to bring about the change desired; and he took the determination, not only to drop any allusion to it in his proposed book, but to try what effect might be produced, when he should again be in England, by a league of English authors to suspend further intercourse with American publishers while the law should remain as it is. On his return he made accordingly a public appeal to this effect, stating his own intention for the future to forego all profit derivable from the authorized transmission of early proofs across the Atlantic; but his hopes in this particular also were doomed to disappointment. I now leave the subject, quoting only from his present letter the general remarks with which it is dismissed by himself.

NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.

"NIAGARA FALLS.
"Tuesday, Third May, 1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"I'll tell you what the two obstacles to the "passing of an international copyright law with "England, are: firstly, the national love of 'doing' "a man in any bargain or matter of business; "secondly, the national vanity. Both these char-

Two
obstacles to
international
copyright.

NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.
The first
obstacle.

"acteristics prevail to an extent which no stranger
"can possibly estimate.

"With regard to the first, I seriously believe
"that it is an essential part of the pleasure
"derived from the perusal of a popular English
"book, that the author gets nothing for it. It is
"so dar-nation 'cute—so knowing in Jonathan to
"get his reading on those terms. He has the
"Englishman so regularly on the hip that his eye
"twinkles with slyness, cunning, and delight; and
"he chuckles over the humour of the page with
"an appreciation of it, quite inconsistent with,
"and apart from, its honest purchase. The raven
"hasn't more joy in eating a stolen piece of meat,
"than the American has in reading the English
"book which he gets for nothing.

"With regard to the second, it reconciles that
"better and more elevated class who are above
"this sort of satisfaction, with surprising ease.
"The man's read in America! The Americans
"like him! They are glad to see him when he
"comes here! They flock about him, and tell
"him that they are grateful to him for spirits in
The second. "sickness; for many hours of delight in health;
"for a hundred fanciful associations which are
"constantly interchanged between themselves, and
"their wives and children at home! It is nothing

“that all this takes place in countries where he is
 “paid: it is nothing that he has won fame for
 “himself elsewhere, and profit too. The Ameri-
 “cans read him; the free, enlightened, indepen-
 “dent Americans; and what more *would* he have?
 “Here’s reward enough for any man. The na-
 “tional vanity swallows up all other countries on
 “the face of the earth, and leaves but this above
 “the ocean. Now, mark what the real value of
 “this American reading is. Find me in the whole
 “range of literature one single solitary English
 “book which becomes popular with them, before,
 “by going through the ordeal at home and be-
 “coming popular there, it has forced itself on
 “their attention—and I am content that the law
 “should remain as it is, for ever and a day. I
 “must make one exception. There *are* some
 “mawkish tales of fashionable life before which
 “crowds fall down as they were gilded calves,
 “which have been snugly enshrined in circulating
 “libraries at home, from the date of their publica-
 “tion.

“As to telling them, they will have no litera-
 “ture of their own, the universal answer (out of
 “Boston) is, ‘We don’t want one. Why should we
 “pay for one when we can get it for nothing?’

The Life of Charles Dickens, II.

18

NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

Value of
literary
popularity
in America.

NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.
A substitute
for literature.

"Our people don't think of poetry, sir. Dollars,
"banks, and cotton are *our* books, sir." And
"they certainly are in one sense; for a lower
"average of general information than exists in
"this country on all other topics, it would be very
"hard to find. So much, at present, for interna-
"tional copyright."

The same letter kept the promise made in its predecessor that one or two more sketches of character should be sent. "One of the most "amusing phrases in use all through the country, "for its constant repetition, and adaptation to "every emergency, is 'Yes, Sir.' Let me give you "a specimen." (The specimen was the dialogue, in the *Notes*, of straw-hat and brown-hat, during the stage-coach ride to Sandusky.) "I am not "joking, upon my word. This is exactly the "dialogue. Nothing else occurring to me at this "moment, let me give you the secretary's portrait. "Shall I?

The secre-
tary.

"He is of a sentimental turn—strongly sen-
"timental; and tells Anne as June approaches that
"he hopes 'we shall sometimes think of him' in
"our own country. He wears a cloak, like Ham-
"let; and a very tall, big, limp, dusty black hat,
"which he exchanges on long journeys for a cap
"like Harlequin's. . . . He sings; and in some of

"our quarters, when his bedroom has been near "ours, we have heard him grunting bass notes "through the keyhole of his door, to attract our "attention. His desire that I should formally ask "him to sing, and his devices to make me do so, "are irresistibly absurd. There was a piano in "our room at Hartford (you recollect our being "there, early in February?)—and he asked me "one night, when we were alone, if 'Mrs. D' "played. 'Yes, Mr. Q.' 'Oh indeed Sir! *I* sing:
Frightful suggestion.

"so whenever you want *a little soothing*'— You "may imagine how hastily I left the room, on "some false pretence, without hearing more.

"He paints. . . An enormous box of oil co-lours is the main part of his luggage: and with "these he blazes away, in his own room, for "hours together. Anne got hold of some big-headed, pot-bellied sketches he made of the ^{Mr. Q's paintings.}
 "passengers on board the canal-boat (including "me in my fur-coat), the recollection of which "brings the tears into my eyes at this minute. "He painted the Falls, at Niagara, superbly; and "is supposed now to be engaged on a full-length "representation of me: waiters having reported "that chamber-maids have said that there is a "picture in his room which has a great deal of ^{The lion and —}
 "hair. One girl opined that it was 'the beginning

NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

NIAGARA
FALLS:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"of the King's-arms'; but I am pretty sure that "the Lion is myself. . . .

"Sometimes, but not often, he commences a "conversation. That usually occurs when we are "walking the deck after dark; or when we are "alone together in a coach. It is his practice at "such times to relate the most notorious and pa- "triarchial Joe Miller, as something that occurred "in his own family. When travelling by coach, "he is particularly fond of imitating cows and "pigs; and nearly challenged a fellow passenger "the other day, who had been moved by the dis- "play of this accomplishment into telling him "that he was 'a Perfect Calf.' He thinks it an "indispensable act of politeness and attention to "enquire constantly whether we're not sleepy, or, "to use his own words, whether we don't 'suffer "for sleep.' If we have taken a long nap of "fourteen hours or so, after a long journey, he is "sure to meet me at the bedroom door when I "turn out in the morning, with this enquiry. But "apart from the amusement he gives us, I could "not by possibility have lighted on any one who "would have suited my purpose so well. I have "raised his ten dollars per month to twenty; and "mean to make it up for six months."

Suffering
for sleep.

The conclusion of this letter was dated from

"Montreal Thursday, twelfth May;" and was little more than an eager yearning for home. "This —
MONTREAL:
1842.
C. D.
to
J. F.
 "will be a very short and stupid letter, my dear friend; for the post leaves here much earlier than I expected, and all my grand designs for being unusually brilliant fall to the ground. I will write you *one line* by the next Cunard boat—reserving all else until our happy and long long looked-for meeting.

"We have been to Toronto, and Kingston; Toryism of
Toronto. — experiencing attentions at each which I should have difficulty in describing. The wild and rabid toryism of Toronto, is, I speak seriously, *appalling*. English kindness is very different from American. People send their horses and carriages for your use, but they don't exact as payment the right of being always under your nose. We had no less than *five* carriages at Kingston waiting our pleasure at one time; not to mention the com-modore's barge and crew, and a beautiful government steamer. We dined with Sir Charles Bagot last Sunday. Lord Mulgrave was to have met us yesterday at Lachine; but as he was wind-bound in his yacht and couldn't get in, Sir Richard Jackson sent his drag four-in-hand, with Canadian
attentions. two other young fellows who are also his aides, and in we came in grand style.

MONTREAL:

1842.

C. D.

to

J. F.

Proposed
private
theatricals.

"The Theatricals (I think I told you* I had been invited to play with the officers of the Coldstream guards here) are, *A Roland for an Oliver; Two o'clock in the Morning*; and either "the *Young Widow*, or *Deaf as a Post*. Ladies "(unprofessional) are going to play, for the first time. I wrote to Mitchell at New York for a "wig for Mr. Snobbington, which has arrived, and "is brilliant. If they had done *Love, Law and Physick*, as at first proposed, I was already 'up' "in Flexible, having played it of old, before my "authorship days; but if it should be Splash in "the *Young Widow*, you will have to do me the "favor to imagine me in a smart livery-coat, shiny "black hat and cockade, white knee-cords, white "top-boots, blue stock, small whip, red cheeks and "dark eyebrows. Conceive Topping's state of "mind if I bring this dress home and put it on "unexpectedly! . . . God bless you, dear friend. "I can say nothing about the seventh, the day on "which we sail. It is impossible. Words cannot "express what we feel now that the time is so "near. . . ."

His last letter, dated from "Peasco's Hotel, "Montreal, Canada, twenty-sixth of May," described

* See *ante*, p. 128.

the private theatricals, and enclosed me a bill of MONTREAL:
1842.

"This, like my last, will be a stupid letter, be-
"cause both Kate and I are thrown into such a
"state of excitement by the near approach of the
"seventh of June, that we can do nothing, and
"think of nothing.

"The play came off last night. The audience
"between five and six hundred strong, were in-
"vited as to a party; a regular table with refresh-
"ments being spread in the lobby and saloon.
"We had the band of the twenty-third (one of the ^{The private} play.
"finest in the service) in the orchestra, the theatre
"was lighted with gas, the scenery was excellent,
"and the properties were all brought from private
"houses. Sir Charles Bagot, Sir Richard Jackson,
"and their staffs were present; and as the military
"portion of the audience were all in full uniform,
"it was really a splendid scene.

"We 'went' also splendidly; though with no-
"thing very remarkable in the acting way. We had
"for Sir Mark Chase a genuine odd fish, with
"plenty of humour; but our Tristram Sappy was
"not up to the marvellous reputation he has some-
"how or other acquired here. I am not however,
"let me tell you, placarded as stage-manager for
"nothing. Everybody was told they would have

MONTREAL: "to submit to the most iron despotism; and didn't
 1842.
 C. D. "I come Macready over them? Oh no. By no
 to
 J. F. "means. Certainly not. The pains I have taken
 "with them, and the perspiration I have expended,
 "during the last ten days, exceed in amount any-
 thing you can imagine. I had regular plots of
 "the scenery made out, and lists of the properties
 "wanted; and had them nailed up by the prompter's
 "chair. Every letter that was to be delivered,
 "was written; every piece of money that had to
 "be given, provided; and not a single thing lost
 "sight of. I prompted, myself, when I was not
 "on; when I was, I made the regular prompter of
 "the theatre my deputy; and I never saw anything
 "so perfectly touch and go, as the first two pieces.
 "The bedroom scene in the interlude was as
 "well furnished as Vestris had it; with a 'practi-
 "cable' fireplace blazing away like mad, and
 "everything in a concatenation accordingly. I
 "really do believe that I was very funny: at least
 "I know that I laughed heartily at myself, and
 "made the part a character, such as you and I
 "know very well: a mixture of T——, Harley,
 "Yates, Keeley, and Jerry Sneak. It went with a
 "roar, all through; and, as I am closing this, they
 "have told me I was so well made up that Sir
 "Charles Bagot, who sat in the stage box, had no

Stage
manager's
report.

Mr. Snob-
bington.

"idea who played Mr. Snobbington, until the piece MONTREAL:
1842.
C. D.
"was over.

"But only think of Kate playing! and playing
"devilish well, I assure you! All the ladies were to
J. F.
The lady
performers.
"capital, and we had no wait or hitch for an in-
"stant. You may suppose this, when I tell you
"that we began at eight, and had the curtain
"down at eleven. It is their custom here, to
"prevent heartburnings in a very heartburning
"town, whenever they have played in private, to
"repeat the performances in public. So, on Satur-
"day (substituting, of course, real actresses for the
"ladies), we repeat the two first pieces to a pay-
"ing audience, for the manager's benefit. . . .

"I send you a bill, to which I have appended
"a key.

Private Theatricals.

COMMITTEE.

Mrs. TORRENS.

Mrs. PERRY.

W. C. ERMATINGER, Esq.

CAPTAIN TORRENS.

THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

STAGE MANAGER--MR. CHARLES DICKENS.

QUEEN'S THEATRE, MONTREAL.

ON WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 25TH, 1842,
WILL BE PERFORMED,

A ROLAND FOR AN OLIVER.

MRS. SELBORNE.

Mrs. Torrens

MARIA DARLINGTON.

Miss Griffis

MRS. FIXTURE.

Mrs. Ermatinger.

MR. SELBORNE.

Lord Mulgrave.

ALFRED HIGHFLYER.

Mr. Charles Dickens

SIR MARK CHASE.

Markable Mr. Melville

Fixture.

Captain Wellingby.

GAMEKEEPER.

Captain Smoylee

AFTER WHICH, AN INTERLUDE IN ONE SCENE, (FROM THE FRENCH,) CALLED

Past Two o'Clock in the Morning.

THE STRANGER.

Captain Grankille

MR. SNOBBINGTON.

Mr. Charles Dickens

TO CONCLUDE WITH THE FARCE, IN ONE ACT, ENTITLED

DEAF AS A POST.

MRS. PLUMPLEY.

Mrs. Torrens

AMY TEMPLETON.

Mr. Charles Dickens!!!!!!

SOPHY WALTON.

Mrs. Perry

SALLY MAGGS.

Miss Griffis

CAPTAIN TEMPLETON.

Captain Torrens

MR. WALTON.

Captain Wellingby.

TRISTRAM SAPPY.

George Griffis

CRUPPER.

Lord Mulgrave

GALLOP.

Mr. Charles Dickens.

MONTREAL, MAY 24, 1842.

GAZETTE OFFICE.

"I have not told you half enough. But I
 "promise you I shall make you shake your sides
 "about this play. Wasn't it worthy of Crummles
 "that when Lord Mulgrave and I went out to the
 "door to receive the Governor-general, the regular
 "prompter followed us in agony with four tall
 "candlesticks with wax candles in them, and be-
 "sought us with a bleeding heart to carry two
 "apiece, in accordance with all the precedents?..."

MONTREAL:
1842.

C. D.
to
J. F.

"I have hardly spoken of our letters, which
 "reached us yesterday, shortly before the play
 "began. A hundred thousand thanks for your
 "delightful mainsail of that gallant little packet.
 "I read it again and again; and had it all over
 "again at breakfast time this morning. I heard
 "also, by the same ship, from Talfourd, Miss Coutts,
 "Brougham, Rogers, and others. A delicious letter
 "from Mac too, as good as his painting I swear.
 "Give my hearty love to him. . . . God bless
 "you, my dear friend. As the time draws nearer,
 "we get FEVERED with anxiety for home. . . .
 "Kiss our darlings for us. We shall soon
 "meet, please God, and be happier and merrier
 "than ever we were, in all our lives. . . . Oh
 "home—home—home—home—home—home—
 "HOME!!!!!!!"

END OF VOL. II.

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